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HAKLUYT'S VOYAGES



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As Sir Richard was carried out of the ship, the pirates were

HAKLUYT'S VOYAGES

SELECTED AND ARRANGED

By A. S. MOTT, M.A.

With Illustrations by H. R. Millar

And Maps by E. H. Fitchew

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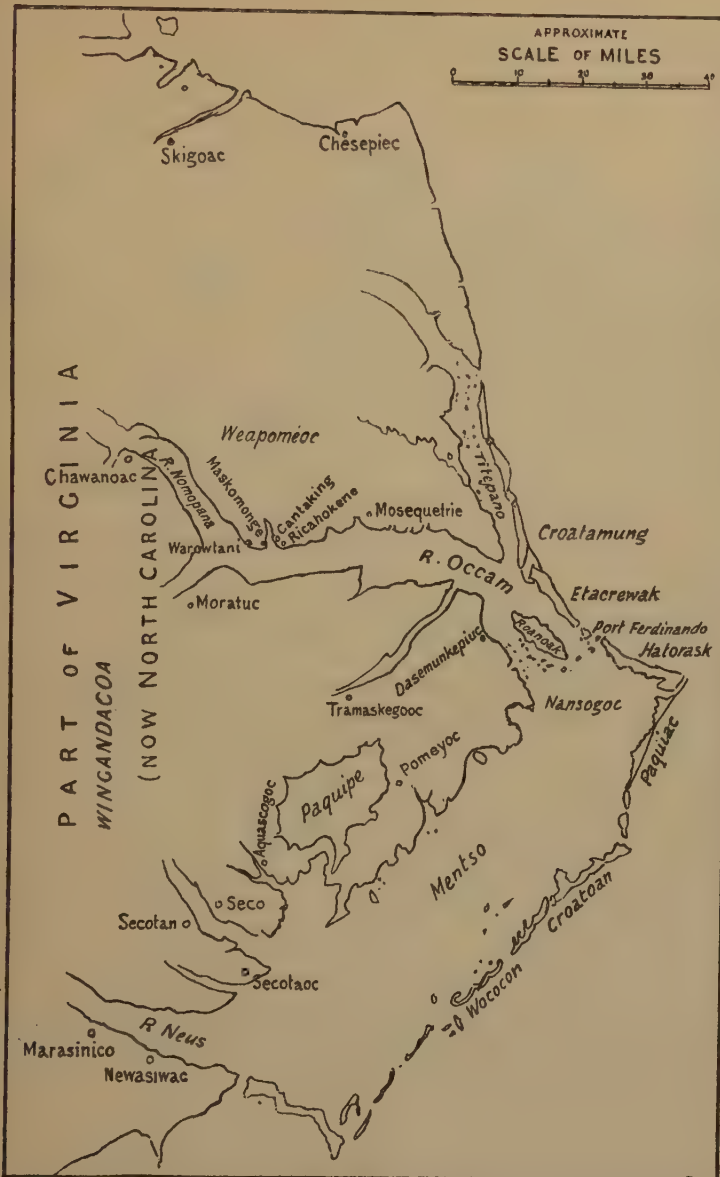
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RICHARD HAKLUYT (the family name was Welsh, not Dutch) was born in or near London about 1552. He was a Queen's Scholar of Westminster School, completed his education at Christ Church, Oxford, entered the Church, and came in time to be Archdeacon of Westminster. He died in 1616 and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

All his life he was interested in voyages and geographical discoveries, and especially in the colonization of North America. His great book, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, which has been justly called "the prose epic of the modern English nation," was first published in 1589; a much enlarged edition was completed in 1600.

The text used for these selections is taken from the complete reprint published by Messrs. MacLehose and Sons, with the kind permission of their successors, Messrs. Jackson, Wylie & Co. The spelling and punctuation have been modernized, and in some of the selected voyages passages have been omitted, but the actual wording of the book has not been altered.





I. THE BEGINNINGS

JOHN CABOT DISCOVERS "PRIMA VISTA"

This, the first successful crossing of the North Atlantic, may be taken to mark the beginning of English discoveries by sea. Little is known about the details of this important voyage, but the result of it was to open up the possibility of further discoveries, and to lead the way to the dangerous Northern Seas which were to be the stern training-ground of English naval power. "Prima vista" may have been Cape Breton Island, or some point on the coast of Labrador: it is probable that Cabot was the first adventurer from Europe to set foot on the mainland of America; for Columbus landed on the Bahama Islands in 1492 and did not know that he had discovered a continent. It is uncertain whether Cabot reached Newfoundland, though he must have passed close to it. (See map on page 66.)

IN the year of our Lord 1497 John Cabot a Venetian, and his son Sebastian (with an English fleet set out from Bristol) discovered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of June, about five of the clock early in the morning. This land he called Prima vista, that is to say, "First seen," because as I suppose, it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That Island which lieth out before the land, he called the Island of St. John upon this occasion; as I think, because it was discovered upon the day of John the Baptist. The inhabitants of this Island used to wear beasts' skins, and have them in as great estimation as we have our finest garments. In their wars they use bows, arrows, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings. The soil is barren in some places, and yieldeth little fruit, but it is full of white bears, and stags far greater than ours. It yieldeth plenty of fish, and those very great; as seals, and

those which commonly we call salmons: there are soles also above a yard in length: but especially there is great abundance of that kind of fish which the Savages call baccalaos. In the same Island also there breed hawks, but they are so black that they are very like to ravens; as also their partridges, and eagles, which are in like sort black.

II. THE NORTH-EAST PASSAGE

The search for a North-east passage was made to find a way through the Arctic seas for Englishmen to reach the wealth of the Eastern lands: of Cathay (China), and of the Indies. It was a search foredoomed to failure, for, as now we know, there is no such route which can be used. The real sea-way, round the Cape of Good Hope, was guarded by the Portuguese, who would allow no other ships to pass. No passage was found, but results important to England were achieved; a valuable trade with Russia was begun, and friendly relations were opened with Persia and the Near East. (See map on page viii.)

SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY DISCOVERS NOVA ZEMBLA

Sir Hugh Willoughby, "a most valiant gentleman, of goodly personage" and "singular skill in the services of war" set sail to find a North-east passage in 1553. . . He had three ships, the "Bona Esperanza, Admiral of the fleet," the "Bona Confidentia," and the "Edward Bonaventure." His voyage was a tragedy: he himself and all the men in the first two ships were found frozen to death on an uninhabited part of the coast of Lapland: and the following story of their fate was "found written in the Bona Esperanza."

THE 14 day of July, we discovered land Eastward of us, unto the which we sailed that night as much as we might: and after, we went on shore with our Pinnace, and found little houses to the number of 30, where we knew that it was inhabited, but the people were fled away, as we judged, for fear of us.

The land was all full of little Islands, and that innumerable, which were called (as we learned afterwards) Ægeland and Halgeland. Then we sailed from thence 12 leagues North-west, and found many other Islands,

and there came to anchor the 19 day, and manned our Pinnace, and went on shore to the Islands, and found people mowing and making of hay, which came to the shore and welcomed us. In which place were an innumerable sort of Islands, which were called the Isles of Rost, being under the dominion of the king of Denmark. The wind being contrary, we remained there three days; and there was an innumerable sort of fowls of divers kinds, of which we took very many.

The 22 day, the wind coming fair, we departed from Rost, sailing North-north-east, keeping the sea until the 27 day; and then we drew near unto the land, which was still East of us. Then went forth our Pinnace to seek harbour, and found many good harbours, of the which we entered into one with our ships, which was called Stanfew; and the land being Islands, were called Lew-foot, or Lofoot, which were plentifully inhabited, and very gentle people, being also under the king of Denmark: but we could not learn how far it was from the main land: and we remained there until the 30 day.

The 30 day of July about noon we weighed our anchors, and went into the Seas, and sailed along these Islands North-north-east, keeping the land still in sight until the second day of August: then hauling in close aboard the land, to the intent to know what land it was, there came a skiff of the Island aboard of us, of whom we asked many questions; who showed unto us, that the Island was called Seynam, which is from Stanfew thirty leagues, being also under the king of Denmark; and that there was no merchandise there, but only dried fish, and train oil. Then we being purposed to go unto Finmark, inquired of him, if we might have a pilot to bring us unto

Finmark; and he said, that if we could bear in, we should have a good harbour, and on the next day a pilot to bring us to Finmark, unto the Wardhouse; which is the strongest hold in Finmark, and most resorted to, by report. But when we would have entered into an harbour, the land being very high on every side, there came such flaws of wind and terrible whirlwinds, that we were not able to bear in, but by violence were constrained to take the see again, our Pinnacle being unshipped.¹ We sailed North and by East, the wind increasing so sore that we were not able to bear any sail, but took them in, and lay adrift, to the end to let the storm over-pass. And that night by violence of wind, and thickness of mists, we were not able to keep together within sight; and then about midnight we lost our pinnacle, which was a discomfort unto us. As soon as it was day, and the fog over-past, we looked about, and at the last we descried one of our ships to Leeward of us: then we spread an hullocke of our fore-sail, and bare room with her, which was the Confidence; but the Edward we could not see. Then the flaw something abating, we and the Confidence hoist up our sails the fourth day, sailing North-east and by North, to the end to fall with the Wardhouse, as we did consult to do before, in case we should part company. Thus running fifty leagues, then we sounded, and had 160 fathoms; whereby we thought to be far from land, and perceived that the land lay not as the Globe made mention. Wherefor we changed our course the sixth day, and sailed eight and forty leagues, thinking thereby to find the Wardhouse.

¹ Towed at the stern. Compare this with Chancellor's account on page 10.

The eighth day, much wind rising, we not knowing how the coast lay, struck our sails, and lay adrift, where we sounded and found 160 fathoms as before.

They sail for six days in unknown seas.

The 14 day early in the morning we descried land,¹ which land we bare withal, hoisting out our boat to discover what land it might be: but the boat could not come to land, the water was so shallow; where was very much ice also, but there was no similitude of habitation; and this land lieth from Seynam, East and by North 160 leagues. Then we plied to the Northward the 15, 16 and 17 day.

The 18 day, the wind coming at the North-east, and the Confidence being troubled with bilge water, and stocked, we thought it good to seek harbour for her redress.

For nearly a month they sail to and fro off the North Coast of Russia.

The 14 day [of September] we came to an anchor within two leagues of the shore.

There we went ashore with our boat, and found two or three good harbours, the land being rocky, and high; but as for people, could we see none. The 15 day we ran still along the coast until the 17 day: then the wind being contrary unto us, we thought it best to return unto the harbour which we had found before, and so we bare roomer with the same; howbeit we could not accomplish our desire that day. The next day being the 18 of September, we entered into the haven, and there came to

¹ The coast of "Willoughby Land," or Nova Zembla.

an anchor at 6 fathoms. This haven runneth into the main about two leagues, and is in breadth half a league; wherein were very many seal-fishes, and other great fishes; and upon the main we saw bears, great deer, foxes, with divers strange beasts, as gulouines, and such other which were to us unknown, and also wonderful. Thus remaining in this haven the space of a week; seeing the year far spent, and also very evil weather, as frost, snow, and hail, as though it had been the deep of winter, we thought best to winter there. Wherefor we sent out three men South-south-west, to search if they could find people, who went three days' journey, but could find none: after that, we sent other three Westward four days' journey, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men South-east three days' journey, who in like sort returned without finding of people, or any similitude of habitation.

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The river or haven wherein Sir Hugh Willoughby, with the company of his two ships perished for cold, is called Arzina in Lapland, near unto Keger. But it appeareth by a Will found in the ship that Sir Hugh Willoughby and most of the company were alive in January 1554.

RICHARD CHANCELLOR REACHES RUSSIA

The third ship of Sir Hugh Willoughby's fleet—the "Edward Bonaventure"—was commanded by Richard Chancellor, Captain and chief Pilot; "a man of great estimation for many good parts of wit in him." Chancellor escaped the fate of his consorts; he discovered the White Sea, and landed at Kholmogory, close to where Archangel now stands. His story, including the famous account of his dinner with the Emperor, is said to have been taken down from his own mouth.

It was thought best that by the twentieth day of May, the Captains and Mariners should take shipping, and depart from Ratcliffe upon the ebb, if it pleased God. They having saluted their acquaintance, one his wife, another his children, another his kinsfolks, and another his friends dearer than his kinsfolks, were present and ready at the day appointed: and having weighed anchor, they departed with the turning of the water, and sailing easily, came first to Greenwich. The greater ships are towed down with boats and oars; and the mariners being all apparelled in watchet or sky-coloured cloth, rowed amain, and made way with diligence. And being come near to Greenwich (where the Court then lay), presently upon the news thereof, the Courtiers came running out, and the common people flocked together, standing very thick upon the shore: the privy Council, they looked out at the windows of the Court, and the rest ran up to the tops of the towers: the ships hereupon discharge their Ordnance, and shoot off their pieces after the manner of war, and of the sea; insomuch that the tops of the hills sounded therewith, the valleys and the waters gave an Echo, and the Mariners, they shouted in such sort, that the sky rang again with the noise thereof. One stood in the poop of

the ship, and by his gesture bids farewell to his friends in the best manner he could. Another walks upon the hatches, another climbs the shrouds, another stands upon the main yard, and another in the top of the ship. To be short, it was a very triumph in all respects to the beholders.

The ships, going down with the tide came at last to Woolwich, where they stayed and cast anchor, with purpose to depart thence again, as soon as the turning of the water and a better wind, should draw them to set sail. After this they departed and came to Harwich; in which port they stayed long, not without great loss and consuming of time: yet at the last with a good wind they hoist up sail, and committed themselves to the sea, giving their last adieu to their native country, which they knew not whether they should ever return to see again or not.

After many days' sailing, they kenned land afar off, whereunto the Pilots directed the ships: and being come to it, they land, and find it to be Rost Island, where they stayed certain days; and afterwards set sail again, and proceeding towards the North, they espied certain other Islands, which were called the Cross of Islands. From which places when they were a little departed, Sir Hugh Willoughby the General, a man of good foresight and providence in all his actions, erected and set out his flag, by which he called together the chiefest men of the other ships; that by the help and assistance of their counsels, the order of the government and conduction of the ships in the whole voyage, might be the better: who being come together accordingly, they conclude and agree, that if any great tempest should arise at any time, and happen to disperse and scatter them, every ship

should endeavour his best to go to Wardhouse, a haven or castle of some name in the kingdom of Norway; and that they that arrived there first in safety should stay and expect the coming of the rest.

The very same day in the afternoon, about four of the clock, so great a tempest suddenly arose, and the Seas were so outrageous, that the ships could not keep their intended course; but some were perforce driven one way, and some another way, to their great peril and hazard. The general with his loudest voice cried out to Richard Chancellor, and earnestly requested him not to go far from him: but he neither would nor could keep company with him, if he sailed still so fast: for the Admiral was of better sail than his ship. But the said Admiral (I know not by what means) bearing all his sails, was carried away with so great force and swiftness, that not long after he was quite out of sight; and the third ship also with the same storm and like rage, was dispersed and lost us.

[The ship-boat of the Admiral (striking against the ship), was overwhelmed in the sight and view of the Mariners of the Bonaventure: and they know nothing of the rest of the ships, what was become of them.

Now Richard Chancellor with his ship and company being thus left alone, and become very pensive, heavy, and sorrowful, by this dispersion of the Fleet; he (according to the order before taken) shapeth his course for Wardhouse in Norway, there to expect and abide the arrival of the rest of the ships. And being come thither, and having stayed there the space of 7 days, and looked in vain for their coming, he determined at length to

proceed alone in the purposed voyage. And as he was preparing himself to depart, it happened that he fell in company and speech with certain Scottishmen: who having understanding of his intention, and wishing well to his actions, began earnestly to dissuade him from the further prosecution of the discovery, by amplifying the dangers which he was to fall into; and omitted no reason that might serve to that purpose. But he holding nothing so ignominious and reproachful as inconstancy and levity of mind; and persuading himself that a man of valour could not commit a more dishonourable part than for fear of danger to avoid and shun great attempts, was nothing at all changed or discouraged with the speeches and words of the Scots; remaining steadfast and immutable in his first resolution: determining either to bring that to pass which was intended, or else to die the death.

When they saw their desire and hope of the arrival of the rest of the ships to be every day more and more frustrated, they provided to sea again; and Master Chancellor held on his course towards that unknown part of the world; and sailed so far, that he came at last to the place where he found no night at all, but a continual light and brightness of the Sun shining clearly upon the huge and mighty Sea. And having the benefit of this perpetual light for certain days, at the length it pleased God to bring them into a certain great Bay,¹ which was of one hundred miles, or thereabout, over. Whereinto they entered, and somewhat far within it cast anchor; and looking every way about them, it happened that they espied afar off a certain fisher-boat, which Master Chancellor, accom-

¹ The White Sea.

panied with a few of his men, went towards to commune with the fishermen that were in it; and to know of them what Country it was, and what people, and of what manner of living they were. But they being amazed with the strange greatness of his ship (for in those parts before that time they had never seen the like) began presently to avoid and to flee. But he still following them, at last overtook them; and being come to them, they (being in great fear, as men half dead) prostrated themselves before him, offering to kiss his feet: but he (according to his great and singular courtesy) looked pleasantly upon them, comforting them by signs and gestures, refusing those duties and reverences of theirs, and taking them up in all loving sort from the ground. And it is strange to consider how much favour afterwards in that place, this humanity of his did purchase to himself. For they being dismissed, spread by and by a report abroad of the arrival of a strange nation, of a singular gentleness and courtesy: whereupon the common people came together, offering to these new-come guests victuals freely, and not refusing to traffic with them, except they had been bound by a certain religious use and custom, not to buy any foreign commodities, without the knowledge and consent of the king.

By this time our men had learned that this country was called Russia, or Moscovie; and that Ivan Vasiliwich (which was at that time their King's name) ruled and governed far and wide in those places. And the barbarous Russes asked likewise of our men whence they were, and what they came for: whereunto answer was made, that they were Englishmen sent into those coasts, from the most excellent King Edward the sixth; having from him

in commandment certain things to deliver to their King,¹ and seeking nothing else but his amity and friendship, and traffic with his people; whereby they doubted not, but that great commodity and profit would grow to the subjects of both kingdoms.

The Barbarians heard these things very gladly, and promised their aid and furtherance to acquaint their king out of hand, with so honest and reasonable a request.

[After a long delay] the Moscovites resolved to furnish our people with all things necessary, and to conduct them by land to the presence of their king. And so Master Chancellor began his journey, which was very long and most troublesome, wherein he had the use of certain sledges, which in that Country are very common; for they are carried themselves upon sledges, and all their carriages are in the same sort, the people almost not knowing any other manner of carriage; the cause whereof is the exceeding hardness of the ground, congealed in the winter time by the force of the cold, which in those places is very extreme and horrible.

After much ado and great pains taken in this long and weary journey (for they had travelled very near fifteen hundred miles), Master Chancellor came at last to Moscow, the chief city of the kingdom, and the seat of the king.

Now after that they had remained about twelve days in the City, there was then a Messenger sent unto them, to bring them to the King's house: and they being after

¹ These were letters from Edward VI "To all Kings, Princes and Governors inhabiting the North-east parts of the world," offering them his friendship and asking permission for his subjects to trade in their countries.

a sort wearied with their long stay, were very ready, and willing so to do. And being entered within the gates of the Court, there sat a very honourable company of Courtiers, to the number of one hundred, all apparelled in cloth of gold, down to their ankles. And there-hence being conducted into the chamber of presence, our men began to wonder at the Majesty of the Emperor: his seat was aloft, in a very royal throne, having on his head a Diadem, or Crown of gold, apparelled with a robe all of Goldsmiths' work, and in his hand he held a Sceptre, garnished and beset with precious stones. And besides all other notes and appearances of honour, there was a Majesty in his countenance proportionable with the excellency of his estate: on the one side of him stood his chief Secretary, on the other side, the great Commander of silence, both of them arrayed also in cloth of gold: and then there sat the Council of one hundred and fifty in number, all in like sort arrayed, and of great state. This so honourable an assembly, so great a Majesty of the Emperor, and of the place might very well have amazed our men, and have dashed them out of countenance: but notwithstanding, Master Chancellor being therewithal nothing dismayed, saluted, and did his duty to the Emperor, after the manner of England; and withal, delivered unto him the letters of our King, Edward the sixth. The Emperor having taken, and read the letters, began a little to question with them, and to ask them of the welfare of our King: whereunto our men answered directly, and in few words. Hereupon our men presented something to the Emperor, by the chief Secretary, which at the delivery of it, put off his hat, being before all the time covered: and so the Em-

peror having invited them to dinner, dismissed them from his presence. And going into the chamber of him that was Master of the Requests to the Emperor, and having stayed there the space of two hours; at the last, the Messenger cometh, and calleth them to dinner: they go, and being conducted into the golden Court, (for so they call it, although not very fair) they find the Emperor sitting upon an high and stately seat, apparelled with a robe of silver, and with another Diadem on his head. Our men being placed over against him, sit down: in the midst of the room stood a mighty Cupboard upon a square foot, whereupon stood also a round board, in manner of a Diamond, broad beneath, and towards the top narrow, and every step rose up more narrow than another. Upon this Cupboard was placed the Emperor's plate, which was so much, that the very Cupboard itself was scant able to sustain the weight of it: the better part of all the vessels and goblets was made of very fine gold: and amongst the rest, there were four pots of very large bigness, which did adorn the rest of the plate in great measure: for they were so high, that they thought them at the least five foot long. There were also upon this Cupboard certain silver casks, not much differing from the quantity of our Firkins, wherein was reserved the Emperor's drink. On each side of the Hall stood four Tables, each of them laid and covered with very clean table-cloths, whereunto the company ascended by three steps or degrees: all which were filled with the assembly present: the guests were all apparelled with linen without, and with rich skins within, and so did notably set out this royal feast. The Emperor, when he takes any bread or knife in his hand, doth first of all cross himself upon

his forehead: they that are in special favour with the Emperor sit upon the same bench with him, but somewhat far from him: and before the coming in of the meat, the Emperor himself, according to an ancient custom of the Kings of Moscovy, doth first bestow a piece of bread upon every one of his guests, with a loud pronunciation of his title and honour, in this manner: The great Duke of Moscovie, and chief Emperor of Russia, John Basiliwich (and then the officer nameth the guest) doth give thee bread. Whereupon all the guests rise up, and by and by sit down again. This done, the Gentleman Usher of the Hall comes in, with a notable company of servants, carrying the dishes, and having done his reverence to the Emperor, puts a young Swan in a golden platter upon the table, and immediately takes it thence again, delivering it to the Carver, and seven other of his fellows, to be cut up: which being performed, the meat is then distributed to the guests, with the like pomp and ceremonies. In the meantime, the Gentleman Usher receives his bread, and tasteth to the Emperor, and afterward, having done his reverence, he departeth. Touching the rest of the dishes, because they were brought in out of order, our men can report no certainty: but this is true, that all the furniture of dishes, and drinking vessels, which were then for the use of a hundred guests, was all of pure gold; and the tables were so laden with vessels of gold, that there was no room for some to stand upon them.

We may not forget, that there were 140 servitors arrayed in cloth of gold, that in the dinner time, changed thrice their habit and apparel, which servitors are in like sort served with bread from the Emperor, as the rest of

the guests. Last of all, dinner being ended, and candles brought in, (for by this time night was come) the Emperor calleth all his guests and Noblemen by their names, in such sort, that it seems miraculous, that a Prince, otherwise occupied in great matters of state, should so well remember so many and sundry particular names. The Russes told our men, that the reason thereof, as also of the bestowing of bread in that manner, was to the end that the Emperor might keep the knowledge of his own household: and withal, that such as are under his displeasure, might by this means be known.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE RUSSIANS

From Richard Chancellor's description, and others.

MOSCOVIE, which hath the name also of Russia the white, is a very large and spacious Country, every way bounded with divers nations. The whole Country is plain and champion, and few hills in it: and towards the North it hath very large and spacious woods, wherein is great store of Fir trees, a wood very necessary, and fit for the building of houses: there are also wild beasts bred in those woods, as Buffs, Bears, and black Wolves, and another kind of beast unknown to us, but called by them Rossomakka. They hunt their buffs for the most part a-horseback, but their Bears a-foot, with wooden forks. The north parts of the Country are reported to be so cold, that the very ice or water which distilleth out of the moist wood which they lay



upon the fire is presently congealed and frozen: the diversity growing suddenly to be so great, that in one and the self-same firebrand, a man shall see both fire and ice. When the winter doth once begin there, it doth still more and more increase by a perpetuity of cold: neither doth that cold slake, until the force of the Sunbeams doth dissolve the cold, and make glad the earth, returning to it again. Our mariners which we left in the ship in the meantime to keep it, in their going up only from their cabins to the hatches, had their breath oftentimes so suddenly taken away, that they eftsoons fell down as men very near dead, so great is the sharpness of that cold climate: but as for the South parts of the Country, they are somewhat more temperate.

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The Emperor's name in their tongue is Ivan Vasilivich, that is as much to say, as John the son of Vasilie; and

by his princely state he is called Otesara, as his predecessors have been before; which to interpret, is "a king that giveth not tribute to any man." And this word Otesara his majesty's interpreters have of late days interpreted to be "Emperor," so that now he is called Emperor and great Duke of all Russia, etc. Before his father, they were neither called Emperors nor Kings, but only Reuse Velike, that is to say, "great Duke." And as this Emperor which now is Ivan Vasilivich, doth exceed his predecessors in name, that is, from a Duke to an Emperor, even so much by report he doth exceed them in stoutness of courage and valiantness, and a great deal more: for he is no more afraid of his enemies which are not few, than the Hobby of the larks.

This Emperor useth great familiarity, as well unto all his nobles and subjects, as also unto strangers which serve him either in his wars, or in occupations: for his pleasure is that they shall dine oftentimes in the year in his presence, and besides that, he is oftentimes abroad, either at one Church or another, and walking with his noblemen abroad. And by this means he is not only beloved of his nobles and commons, but also had in great dread and fear through all his dominions, so that I think no prince in Christendom is more feared of his own than he is, nor yet better beloved. For if he bid any of his Dukes go, they will run; if he give any evil or angry word to any of them, the party will not come into his majesty's presence again of a long time if he be not sent for, but will fain him to be very sick; and will let the hair of his head grow very long, without either cutting or shaving, which is an evident token that he is in the Emperor's displeasure: for when they be in their pros-

perity, they account it a shame to wear long hair; in consideration whereof, they use to have their heads shaven.

His majesty heareth all complaints himself, and with his own mouth giveth sentence, and judgment of all matters, and that with expedition: but religious matters he meddleth not withal, but referreth them wholly unto the Metropolitan.

His majesty retaineth and well rewardeth all strangers that come to serve him, and especially men of war.

He delighteth not greatly in hawking, hunting, or any other pastime, nor in hearing instruments or music, but setteth all his whole delight upon two things: First, to serve God, as undoubtedly he is very devout in his religion, and the second, how to subdue and conquer his enemies.

He hath abundance of gold and silver in his own hands or treasury: but the most part of his know not a crown from a counter, nor gold from copper, they are so much cumbered therewithal, and he that is worth 2, 3, or 4 groats, is a rich man.

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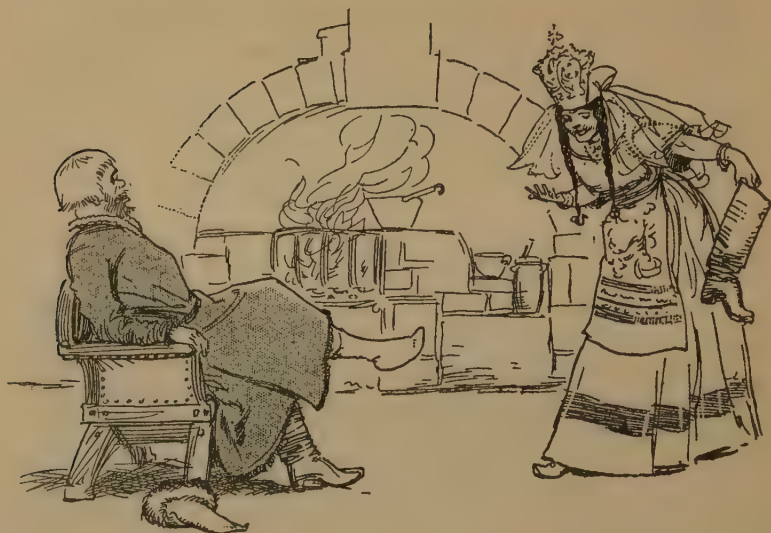
Their matrimony is as near as I can learn, in this wise following.

First, when there is love between the parties, the man sendeth unto the woman a small chest or box, wherein is a whip, needles, thread, silk, linen cloth, shears, and such necessities as she shall occupy when she is a wife; and perhaps sendeth therewithal raisins, figs or some such things, giving her to understand, that if she do offend, she must be beaten with the whip; and by the needles,

thread, cloth, etc. that she should apply herself diligently to sew, and do such things as she could best do; and by the raisins or fruits he meaneth if she do well, no good thing shall be withdrawn from her, nor be too dear for her: and she sendeth unto him a shirt, handkerchiefs and some such things of her own making. And now to the effect.

When they are agreed, and the day of marriage appointed, when they shall go towards the Church, the bride will in no wise consent to go out of the house, but resisteth and striveth with them that would have her out, and faineth herself to weep; yet in the end, two women get her out, and lead her towards the Church, her face being covered close, because of her dissimulation, that it should not be openly perceived: for she maketh a great noise, as though she were sobbing and weeping, until she come at the Church, and then her face is uncovered. The man cometh after among other of his friends, and they carry with them to the Church a great pot with wine or mead: then the priest coupleth them together much after our order, one promising to love and serve the other during their lives together, etc. Which being done, they begin to drink, and first the woman drinketh to the man, and when he hath drunk he letteth the cup fall to the ground, hasting immediately to tread upon it, and so doth she; and whether of them tread first upon it must have the victory and be master at all times after: which commonly happeneth to the man, for he is readiest to set his foot on it, because he letteth it fall himself. Then they go home again, the woman's face being uncovered.

When they come home, the wife is set at the upper end of the table, and the husband next unto her: and when



they are going to bed, the bridegroom putteth certain money both gold and silver, if he have it, into one of his boots, and then sitteth down in the chamber, crossing his legs; and then the bride must pluck off one of his boots, which she will, and if she happen on the boot wherein the money is, she hath not only the money for her labour, but is also at such choice, as she need not ever from that day forth to pull off his boots; but if she miss the boot wherein the money is, she doth not only lose the money, but is also bound from that day forwards to pull off his boots continually.

Then they continue in drinking and making good cheer three days following, being accompanied with certain of their friends, and during the same three days he is called

a Duke, and she a Duchess, although they be very poor persons; and this is as much as I have learned of their matrimony. But one common rule is amongst them; if the woman be not beaten with the whip once a week, she will not be good; and therefore they look for it orderly, and the women say, that if their husbands did not beat them, they should not love them.

They use to marry there very young, their sons at 16 and 18 years old, and the daughters at 12 or 13 years or younger: they use to keep their wives very closely—I mean those that be of any reputation; so that a man shall not see one of them but at a chance, when she goeth to Church at Christmas or at Easter, or else going to visit some of her friends.

The most part of the women use to ride astride in saddles with stirrups, as men do; and some of them on sledges, which in summer is not commendable.

The husband is bound to find the wife colours to paint her withal, for they use ordinarily to paint themselves. It is such a common practice among them, that it is counted for no shame: they grease their faces with such colours, that a man may discern them hanging on their faces almost a flight-shoot off. I cannot so well liken them as to a miller's wife, for they look as though they were beaten about the face with a bag of meal, but their eyebrows they colour as black as jet.

The best property that the women have, is that they can sew well, and embroider with silk and gold excellently.

JENKINSON REACHES THE CASPIAN SEA AND
BOKHARA

Anthony Jenkinson was a great explorer, ambassador and merchant. Following the route lately found by Chancellor, and seeking a way to the East by land from Russia, he made many further discoveries and opened trade relations of great importance to England. He was the first Englishman to sail on the Caspian Sea, and his remarkable journey to Bokhara on the borders of Turkistan was not repeated by an Englishman for nearly 300 years. Leaving Moscow in April 1558, he reached Astrakhan, near the mouth of the Volga: at this point the following account begins.

WE tarried there until the sixth day of August, and having bought and provided a boat in company with certain Tartars and Persians, we laded our goods and embarked ourselves; and the same day departed down the river Volga, being very crooked, and full of flats toward the mouth thereof. We entered into the Caspian sea the tenth day of August at the Easterly side of the said river, being twenty leagues from Astracan.

The nineteenth day the wind being West, and we winding East-south-east, we sailed ten leagues, and passed by a great river called Iaic, which hath his spring in the land of Siberia, and runneth through the land of Nagay, falling into this Mare Caspium. And up this river one day's journey is a town called Serachick, subject to the Tartar prince called Murse Smille,¹ which is now in friendship with the Emperor of Russia. Here is no trade of merchandise used, for that the people have no use of money,

¹ "The Nagayans [Tartars living on the East of the Volga] were divided into Hordes, and every Horde had a ruler, whom they obeyed as their King, and was called a Murse."—*Jenkinson*.

and are all men of war, and pasturers of cattle, and given much to theft and murder. Thus being at an anchor against this river Iaic, and all our men being on land, saving I, who lay sore sick, and five Tartars, whereof one was reputed a holy man, because he came from Mecca; there came unto us a boat with thirty men well armed and appointed, who boarded us, and began to enter into our barque; and our holy Tartar called Azy, perceiving that, asked them what they would have, and withal made a prayer. With that these rovers stayed, declaring that they were Gentlemen, banished from their country, and out of living, and came to see if there were any Russes or other Christians (which they call Caphars) in our barque? To whom this Azy most stoutly answered, that there were none; avowing the same by great oaths of their law (which lightly they will not break), whom the rovers believed, and upon his words departed. And so through the fidelity of that Tartar, I with all my company and goods were saved; and our men being come on board, and the wind fair, we departed from that place.

The 27 day we crossed over a Bay, the South shore being the higher land, and fell with a high point of land: and being overthwart the Cape, there rose such a storm at the East, that we thought verily we should have perished: this storm continued 3 days. From this Cape we passed to a port called Manguslave. The place where we should have arrived at the Southernmost part of the Caspian sea, is 12 leagues within a Bay: but we being sore tormented and tossed with this foresaid storm, were driven unto another land on the other side the Bay, overthwart the said Manguslave, being very low land, and a place as well for the ill commodity of the haven, as of

those brute field people, where never barque nor boat had before arrived, not liked of us.

But yet here we sent certain of our men to land, to talk with the governor and people; as well for our good usage at their hands, as also for provision of camels to carry our goods from the said sea side to a place called Sellizure; being from the place of our landing five and twenty days' journey. Our messengers returned with comfortable words and fair promises of all things.

Wherefore the 3 day of September 1558 we discharged our barque, and I with my company were gently entertained of the Prince and of his people. But before our departure from thence, we found them to be very bad and brutish people; for they ceased not daily to molest us, either by fighting, stealing or begging, raising the price of horse and camels, and victuals, double that it was wont there to be, and forced us to buy the water that we did drink: which caused us to hasten away, and to conclude with them as well for the hire of camels, as for the price of such as we bought, with other provision, according to their own demand.

And thus being ready, the fourteenth of September we departed from that place, being a Caravan of a thousand camels. And having travelled five days' journey, we came to another Prince's Dominion; and upon the way there came unto us certain Tartars on horseback, being well armed, and servants unto the Prince called Timor Soltan, governor of the said country of Manguslave, where we meant to have arrived and discharged our barque, if the great storm aforesaid had not disappointed. These aforesaid Tartars stayed our Caravan in the name of their Prince, and opened our wares, and took such things

as they thought best for their said prince without money; but for such things as they took from me, I rode unto the same Prince, and presented myself before him, requesting his favour, and passport to travel through his country, and not to be robbed nor spoiled of his people: which request he granted me and entertained me very gently, commanding me to be well feasted with flesh and mare's milk: for bread they use none, nor other drink except water. And so I departed from him being glad that I was gone: for he was reported to be a very tyrant, and if I had not gone unto him, I understood his commandment was, that I should have been robbed and destroyed.

This Soltan lived in the fields without Castle or town; and sat, at my being with him, in a little round house made of reeds covered without with felt, and within with carpets.

So, having leave, I departed and overtook our Caravan, and proceeded on our journey; and travelled 20 days in the wilderness from the sea side without seeing town or habitation, carrying provision of victuals with us for the same time; and were driven by necessity to eat one of my camels and a horse for our part, as other did the like. And during the said 20 days we found no water, but such as we drew out of old deep wells, being very brackish and salt; and yet sometimes passed two or three days without the same. And the 5 day of October ensuing, we came unto a gulf of the Caspian sea ¹ again, where we found the water very fresh and sweet.

We having refreshed ourselves at the foresaid gulf, departed thence, and the seventh day arrived at a castle called Sellizure, where the king called Azim Can, re-

¹ This is a mistake: it was not part of the Caspian Sea, but a lake.

mained with 3 other of his brethren; and the 9 day I was commanded to come before his presence, to whom I delivered the Emperor's letters of Russia; and I also gave him a present: who entertained me very well, and caused me to eat in his presence as his brethren did, feasting me with flesh of a wild horse, and mare's milk without bread. And the next day he sent for me again, and asked of me divers questions, as well touching the affairs of the Emperor of Russia, as of our country and laws; to which I answered as I thought good: so that at my departure he gave me his letters of safe conduct.

The 14 day of the month we departed from this Castle of Sellizure; and the 16 of the same we arrived at a city called Urgence, where we paid custom as well for our own heads, as for our camels and horses. And having there sojourned one month, attending the time of our further travel; the king of that country called Aly Soltan, brother to the forenamed Azim Can, returned from a town called Corasan, within the borders of Persia; which he lately had conquered from the Persians, with whom he and the rest of the kings of Tartaria have continual wars. Before this king also I was commanded to come; to whom I likewise presented the Emperor's letters of Russia: and he entertained me well, and demanded of me divers questions, and at my departure gave me his letters of safe conduct.

From the Caspian sea unto the Castle of Sellizure aforesaid, and all the Countries about the said Sea, the people live without town or habitation in the wild fields; removing from one place to another in great companies with their cattle, whereof they have great store; as camels, horses, and sheep both tame and wild.

The Tartars never ride without their bow, arrows, and sword, although it be on hawking, or at any other pleasure; and they are good archers both on horseback, and on foot also. These people have not the use of gold, silver, or any other coin; but when they lack apparel or other necessities, they barter their cattle for the same. Bread they have none, for they neither till nor sow: they be great devourers of flesh, which they cut in small pieces, and eat by handfuls most greedily, and especially the horseflesh. Their chiefest drink is mare's milk soured, as I have said before of the Nagayans; and they will be drunk with the same. They have no rivers nor places of water in this country, until you come to the foresaid gulf, distant from the place of our landing 20 days' journey; except it be in wells, the water whereof is saltish, and yet distant the one from the other two days' journey and more. They eat their meat upon the ground, sitting with their legs double under them, and so also when they pray. Art or science they have none, but live most idly, sitting round in great companies in the fields, devising, and talking most vainly.

The 26 day of November, we departed from the town of Urgence; and having travelled by the river Oxus, 100 miles, we passed over another great river called Ardock, where we paid a certain petty custom.

The 7 of December following, we arrived at a Castle called Kait, subject to a Soltan called Saramet Soltan; who meant to have robbed all the Christians in the Caravan, had it not been for fear of his brother the king of Urgence; as we were informed by one of his chiefest councillors, who willed us to make him a present, which he took, and delivered: besides, we paid at the said castle

for custom, of every camel one red hide of Russia, besides petty gifts to his officers.

Thus proceeding in our journey, the tenth day at night being at rest, and our watch set, there came unto us four horsemen, which we took as spies; from whom we took their weapons and bound them, and having well examined them, they confessed that they had seen the track of many horsemen, and no footing of camels; and gave us to understand, that there were rovers and thieves abroad: for there travel few people that are true and peaceable in that country, but in company of Caravan, where there be many camels: and horsefeeting new, without camels', were to be doubted. Whereupon we consulted and determined amongst ourselves, and sent a post to the said Soltan of Kait; who immediately came himself with 300 men, and met these four suspected men which we sent unto him; and examined them so straightly, and threatened them in such sort, that they confessed, there was a banished Prince with 40 men 3 days' journey forward, who lay in wait to destroy us, if he could; and that they themselves were of his company.

The Soltan therefore understanding that the thieves were not many, appointed us 80 men well armed with a Captain to go with us, and conduct us in our way. And the Soltan himself returned back again, taking the four thieves with him. These soldiers travelled with us two days, consuming much of our victuals. And the 3 day in the morning very early they set out before our Caravan; and having ranged the wilderness for the space of four hours, they met us, coming towards us as fast as their horse could run, and declared that they had found the track of horses not far from us, perceiving well that we

should meet with enemies; and therefore willed us to appoint ourselves for them, and asked us what we would give them to conduct us further; or else they would return. To whom we offered as we thought good; but they refused our offer, and would have more, and so we not agreeing, they departed from us, and went back to their Soltan; who (as we conjectured) was privy to the conspiracy. But they being gone, certain Tartars of our company called holy men (because they had been at Mecca) caused the whole Caravan to stay; and would make their prayers, and divine how we should prosper in our journey and whether we should meet with any ill company or no? To which, our whole Caravan did agree. And they took certain sheep and killed them; and took the blade bones of the same, and first sod them, and then burnt them, and took of the blood of the said sheep, and mingled it with the powder of the said bones, and wrote certain characters with the said blood, using many other ceremonies and words; and by the same divined and found, that we should meet with enemies and thieves (to our great trouble) but should overcome them; to which sorcery, I and my company gave no credit, but we found it true. For within 3 hours after that the soldiers departed from us, which was the 15 day of December in the morning, we escried far off divers horsemen which made towards us; and we (perceiving them to be rovers) gathered ourselves together, being 40 of us well appointed, and able to fight; and we made our prayers together every one after his law, professing to live and die one with another, and so prepared ourselves. When the thieves were nigh unto us, we perceived them to be in number 37 men well armed, and appointed with

bows, arrows and swords, and the captain a prince banished from his Country. They willed us to yield ourselves, or else to be slain; but we defied them, wherewith they shot at us all at once, and we at them very hotly; and so continued our fight from morning until two hours within night, divers men, horses and camels being wounded and slain on both parts. And had it not been for 4 handguns which I and my company had and used, we had been overcome and destroyed: for the thieves were better armed, and were also better archers than we. But after we had slain divers of their men and horses with our guns, they durst not approach so nigh; which caused them to come to a truce with us until the next morning, which we accepted; and encamped ourselves upon a hill, and made the fashion of a Castle, walling it about with packs of wares; and laid our horses and camels within the same to save them from the shot of arrows. And the thieves also encamped within an arrow-shot of us, but they were betwixt us and the water, which was to our great discomfort, because neither we nor our camels had drunk in 2 days before.

Thus keeping good watch, when half the night was spent, the Prince of the thieves sent a messenger half-way unto us, requiring to talk with our Captain (in their tongue, the Caravan Basha), who answered the messenger, "I will not depart from my company to go into the half-way to talk with thee: but if that thy Prince with all his company will swear by our Law to keep the truce, then will I send a man to talk with thee, or else not." Which the Prince understanding, as well himself as his company, swore so loud that we might all hear. And then we sent one of our company (reputed a holy

man) to talk with the same messenger. The message was pronounced aloud in this order. "Our Prince demandeth of the Caravan Basha, that you deliver into his hands as many Caphars" (that is, unbelievers, meaning us the Christians) "as are among you with their goods; and in so doing, he will suffer you to depart with your goods in quietness; and on the contrary, you shall be handled with no less cruelty than the Caphars, if he overcome you, as he doubteth not." To the which our Caravan Basha answered, that he had no Christians in his company, nor other strangers, but two Turks which were of their Law; and although he had, he would rather die than deliver them, and that we were not afraid of his threatenings, and that should he know when day appeared. And so passing in talk, the thieves (contrary to their oath) carried our holy man away to their Prince, crying with a loud voice in token of victory, "Ollo, ollo." Wherewith we were much discomfited, fearing that that holy man would betray us: but he being cruelly handled and much examined, would not to death confess anything which was to us prejudicial; neither touching us, nor yet what men they had slain and wounded of ours the day before. When the night was spent, in the morning we prepared ourselves to battle again: which the thieves perceiving, required to fall to agreement and asked much of us. And to be brief, the most part of our company being loath to go to battle again; and having little to lose, and safe conduct to pass, we were compelled to agree, and to give the thieves 20 ninths (that is to say) 20 times 9 several things, and a camel to carry away the same; which being received, the thieves departed into the wilderness to their old habitation, and we went on our way forward. And

that night came to the river Oxus, where we refreshed ourselves, having been 3 days without water and drink; and tarried there all the next day, making merry with our slain horses and camels, and then departed from that place. And for fear of meeting with the said thieves again or such-like, we left the highway which went along the said river, and passed through a wilderness of sand, and travelled 4 days in the same before we came to water: and then came to a well, the water being very brackish; and we then as before were in need of water, and of other victuals, being forced to kill our horses and camels to eat.

In this wilderness also we had almost fallen into the hands of thieves: for one night being at rest, there came certain scouts, and carried away certain of our men which lay a little separated from the Caravan, wherewith there was a great shout and cry; and we immediately laded our camels, and departed, being about midnight and very dark, and drove sore till we came to the river Oxus again; and then we feared nothing, being walled with the said river. And whether it was for that we had gotten the water, or for that the same thieves were far from us when the scouts discovered us, we know not, but we escaped that danger.

So upon the 23 day of December, we arrived at the city of Boghar¹ in the land of Bactria. This Boghar is situated in the lowest part of all the land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with divers gates into the same: it is divided into 3 partitions, whereof two parts are the king's, and the 3 part is for Merchants and markets; and every science hath their dwelling and market by themselves. The Citie is very great, and the houses for

¹ Bokhara.

JENKINSON AND THE SHAH OF PERSIA 35

the most part of earth; but there are also many houses, temples and monuments of stone sumptuously builded, and gilt; and specially bathstoves so artificially built, that the like thereof is not in the world: the manner whereof is too long to rehearse. There is a little river running through the midst of the said City, but the water thereof is most unwholesome.

JENKINSON TALKS WITH THE SHAH OF PERSIA

Another journey made by Anthony Jenkinson. Leaving England in May 1561, he travelled via Moscow and the Caspian Sea, and reached Shamaki on August 18th, 1562.

ON the 18 of the same month I came to a city called Shamaky, in the said country of Hircan,¹ otherwise called Shirvan; and there the King hath a fair place, where my lodging being appointed, the goods were discharged. The next day being the 19 day, I was sent for to come to the King, named Obdolowcan, who kept his court at that time in the high mountains in tents, distant from the said Shamaki twenty miles, to avoid the injury of the heat: and the 20 day I came before his presence, who gently entertained me, and having kissed his hands, he bade me to dinner, and commanded me to sit down not far from him. This King did sit in a very rich pavilion, wrought with silk and gold, placed very pleasantly upon a hill side, of sixteen fathom long, and six

¹ Hyrcania: a district of uncertain boundaries to the west of the Caspian Sea. It is now part of Persia.

fathom broad, having before him a goodly fountain of fair water: whereof he and his nobility did drink, he being a prince of a mean stature, and of a fierce countenance, richly apparelled with long garments of silk and cloth of gold, embroidered with pearls and stone. Upon his head was a tolipane, with a sharp end standing upwards half a yard long, of rich cloth of gold, wrapped about with a piece of India silk of twenty yards long, wrought with gold; and on the left side of his tolipane stood a plume of feathers, set in a trunk of gold richly enamelled, and set with precious stones. His earrings had pendants of gold, a handful long, with two great rubies of great value, set in the ends thereof: all the ground within his pavilion was covered with rich carpets, and under himself was spread a square carpet wrought with silver and gold, and thereupon was laid two suitable cushions. Thus the King with his nobility, sitting in his pavilion with his legs across, and perceiving that it was painful for me so to sit, his highness caused a stool to be brought in, and did will me to sit thereupon, after my fashion. Dinner time then approaching, divers cloths were spread upon the ground, and sundry dishes served, and set in a rank with divers kinds of meats, to the number of 140 dishes, as I numbered them; which being taken away with the table cloths, and others spread, a banquet of fruits of sundry kinds, with other banqueting meats, to the number of 150 dishes, were brought in: so that two services occupied 290 dishes; and at the end of the said dinner and banquet, the King said unto me, "Quoshe quelde," that is to say, "Welcome": and called for a cup of water to be drawn at a fountain, and tasting thereof, did deliver me the rest, demanding how I did like the same, and whether there were

so good in our country or not: unto whom I answered in such sort, that he was therewith contented. Then he propounded unto me sundry questions, both touching religion, and also the state of our countries, and further questioned whether the Emperor of Almaine,¹ the Emperor of Russia, or the great Turke, were of most power, with many other things too long here to rehearse; to whom I answered as I thought most meet. Then he demanded whether I intended to go any further, and the cause of my coming. Unto that I answered, that I was sent with letters from the Queen's most excellent Majesty of England unto the great Sophy,² to entreat friendship and free passage, and for his safe-conduct to be granted unto English merchants to trade into his Seigniories; with the like also to be granted to his subjects, when they should come into our countries, to the honour and wealth of both realms, and commodity of both their subjects; with divers other words, which I omit to rehearse. This said King much allowing this declaration said that he would not only give me passage, but also men to safe-conduct me unto the said Sophy, lying from the foresaid City of Shamaki thirty days' journey, up into the land of Persia, at a castle called Casbin. So departing from the King at that time, within three days after, being the four and twentieth day of August the year aforesaid, he sent for me again: unto whom I repaired in the morning, and the King not being risen out of his bed did give one commandment that I should ride on hawking with many Gentlemen of his Court, and that they should show me so much game and pastime as might be: which was done, and many cranes killed. We returned from hawking about three of the

¹ The Holy Roman Emperor.

² The Shah of Persia.

clock at the afternoon: the King then risen, and ready to dinner, I was invited thereunto; and approaching nigh to the entering in of his tent, and being in his sight, two gentlemen encountered me with two garments of that country, the one of silk, and the other of silk and gold, sent unto me from the King. And after that they caused me to put off my upper garment, being a gown of black velvet furred with Sables, they put the said two garments upon my back, and so conducted me unto the King; before whom doing reverence, and kissing his hand, he commanded me to sit not far from him. And so I dined in his presence, he at that time being very merry, and demanding of me many questions, and amongst other, how I like the manner of their hawking. Dinner so ended, I required his highness' safe-conduct for to depart towards the Sophy; who dismissing me with great favour, and appointing his Ambassador (which returned out of Russia) and others, to safe-conduct me, he gave me at my departure a fair horse with all furniture, and custom free from thence with all my goods. So I returned to Shamaki again, where I remained until the sixth of October, to provide camels, horses, and other necessities for my said intended journey.

In the country [of Hircan] there is a high hill called Quiquifs, upon the top whereof (as it is commonly reported) did dwell a great Giant, named Arneoste, having upon his head two great horns; and ears, and eyes like a Horse, and a tail like a Cow. It is further said, that this monster kept a passage ¹ thereby, until there came an holy man, termed Haucoir Hamshe, a kinsman to one of the Sophies, who mounted the said hill, and combating

¹ Prevented anyone from passing.

with the said Giant, did bind not only him in chains, but also his woman called Lamisache, with his son named After: for which victory they of that country have this holy man in great reputation, and the hill at this day (as it is bruited) savoureth so ill, that no person may come nigh unto it: but whether it be true or not, I refer it to further knowledge.

The 6 of October in the year aforesaid, I with my company departed from Shamaki aforesaid; and having journeyed threescore miles, came to a town called Yavate, wherein the King hath a fair house, with orchards and gardens well replenished with fruits of all sorts. By this town passeth a great river called Cor, which springeth in the mountains of the Georgians, and passing through the country of Hircania aforesaid, falleth into the Caspian or Hircan Sea, at a place between two ancient towns called Shabran and Bachu, situate within the realm of Hircan; and from thence issueth further, passing through a fruitful country, inhabited with pasturing people, which dwell in the Summer season upon mountains; and in Winter they remove into the valleys without resorting to towns or any other habitation. And when they remove, they do journey in caravans or troops of people and cattle, carrying all their wives, children and baggage upon bullocks. Now passing this wild people ten days' journey, coming into no town or house, the sixteenth day of October we arrived at a city called Ardouil; where we were lodged in an hospital builded with fair stone, and erected by this Sophy's father named Ismael, only for the succour and lodging of strangers and other travellers, wherein all men have victuals and feeding for man and horse,

for three days and no longer. This foresaid late Prince Ismael lieth buried in a fair Mosque, with a sumptuous sepulchre in the same, which he caused to be made in his lifetime. This town Ardouil is in the latitude of eight and thirty degrees, an ancient city in the Province of Aderravgan, wherein the Princes of Persia are commonly buried: and there Alexander the Great did keep his Court when he invaded the Persians. Four days' journey to the Westward is the City Tebris, in old time called Tauris, the greatest city in Persia; but not of such trade of merchandise as it hath been, or as others be at this time, by means of the great invasion of the Turke, who hath conquered from the Sophy almost to the said City of Tauris; which the said Turke once sacked, and thereby caused the Sophy to forsake the same, and to keep his court ten days' journey from thence, at the City of Casbin.

The 21 day we departed from Ardouil aforesaid, travelling for the most part over mountains all in the night season. Thus passing ten days' journey, the year aforesaid, the second day of November, we arrived at the aforesaid City of Casbin, where the said Sophy keepeth his court, and were appointed to a lodging not far from the King's palace. And within two days after, the Sophy commanded a Prince called Shalli Murzey, son to Obdowcan King of Shirvan aforesaid, to send for me to his house; who asked me in the name of the said Sophy how I did, and whether I were in health, and after did welcome me, and invited me to dinner, whereat I had great entertainment. And so from thence I returned to my lodging. The next day after, I sent my interpreter unto the Sophy's Secretary, declaring that I had letters

directed from our most gracious Sovereign lady the Queen's most excellent Majesty of the Realm of England, unto the said Sophy, and that the cause of my coming was expressed in the same letters, desiring that at convenient time I might come into his Majesty's presence; who, advertising the Sophy thereof, shortly after answered me that there were great affairs in hand: which being finished, I should come before his presence, willing me in the mean time to make ready my present if I had any to deliver.

The 20 day of November aforesaid, I was sent for to come before the said Sophy, otherwise called Shaw Thamas; and about three of the clock at afternoon I came to the Court, and in lighting from my horse at the Court gate, before my feet touched the ground, a pair of the Sophy's own shoes, termed in the Persian tongue Basmackes, such as he himself weareth when he ariseth in the night to pray (as his manner is) were put upon my feet. For without the same shoes I might not be suffered to tread upon his holy ground, being a Christian, and called amongst them Gower, that is, unbeliever and unclean: esteeming all to be infidels and Pagans which do not believe as they do, in their false filthy prophets, Mahomet and Murtezalli. At the said Court gate the things that I brought to present his Majesty with, were divided by sundry parcels to sundry servitors of the Court to carry before me; for none of my company or servants might be suffered to enter into the Court with me, my interpreter only excepted. Thus coming before his Majesty with such reverence as I thought meet to be used, I delivered the Queen's Majesty's letters with my present; which he accepting, demanded of me of what

country of Franks ¹ I was, and what affairs I had there to do? Unto whom I answered that I was of the famous City of London within the noble Realm of England, and that I was sent thither from the most excellent and gracious sovereign Lady Elizabeth, Queen of the said Realm, for to treat of friendship; and free passage of our Merchants and people; to repair and traffic within his dominions, for to bring in our commodities, and to carry away theirs to the honour of both princes, the mutual commodity of both Realms, and wealth of the Subjects; with other words here omitted. He then demanded me in what language the letters were written. I answered, "In the Latin, Italian and Hebrew." "Well," said he, "we have none within our Realm that understand those tongues." Whereupon I answered that such a famous and worthy Prince (as he was) wanted not people of all nations within his large dominions to interpret the same. Then he questioned with me of the state of our Countries, and of the power of the Emperor of Almaine, King Philip,² and the great Turke, and which of them was of most power: whom I answered to his contentment, not dispraising the great Turke, their late concluded friendship considered. Then he reasoned with me much of Religion, demanding whether I were a Gower, that is to say, an unbeliever, or a Mussulman, that is, of Mahomet's law. Unto whom I answered that I was neither unbeliever nor Mahometan, but a Christian. "What is that?" said he unto the King of the Georgian's son, who being a Christian was fled unto the said Sophy; and he answered that a Christian was he that believeth in Jesus Christus,

¹ Europeans.

² Philip II of Spain.

affirming him to be the Son of God, and the greatest Prophet. "Dost thou believe so?" said the Sophy unto me? "Yea that I do," said I: "Oh thou unbeliever," said he, "we have no need to have friendship with the unbelievers," and so willed me to depart. I being glad thereof did reverence and went my way, being accompanied with many of his gentlemen and others; and after me followed a man with a Basanet of sand, sifting all the way that I had gone within the said palace, even from the said Sophy's sight unto the court gate.

A DANGEROUS TRADE WITH THE PERSIANS

Trade between England and Persia was started by Jenkinson. Others followed him; but that it was a dangerous business in those days is shown by the following account of a peaceful venture led by Thomas Banister and Geoffrey Ducket.

UPON the 3 day of July 1568, they embarked themselves at Yeraslave, being accompanied with Lionel Plumtree, and some 12 English men more, in a Barque called the Thomas Bonaventure of the burden of 70 tons, taking also along with them of Russes to the number of 40, for their use and employments. It fell out in the way, before they came to Astracan by 40 miles, that the Nagaian Tartars, being a kind of thievish and cruel people, made an assault upon them with 18 boats of theirs; each of them being armed, some with swords, some with spears, and some others with bows and arrows; and the whole

number of them they discovered to be about 300 men. They for their parts, although they could have wished a quiet voyage and journey without blows and violence, yet not willing to be spoiled with such Barbarians as they were, began to defend themselves against their assault; by means whereof a very terrible and fierce fight followed and continued hot and sharp for two hours, wherein our men so well played their parts with their calivers, that they forced the Tartars to flee with the loss of 120 of them; as they were afterwards informed by a Russe prisoner, which escaped from the Nagaïans, and came to them to Astracan; at which town they arrived the 20 of August.

In this town of Astracan they were somewhat hindered of their journey, and stayed the space of six weeks by reason of a great army of 70,000 Turkes and Tartars which came thither upon the instigation of the great Turke, hoping either to have surprised it suddenly or by continuance of siege to win the same. But in the end, by reason that the winter approached, as also, because they had received news of a great expedition, which the Emperor of Russia was in providing for the defence of the said place, they were constrained to raise their siege, and to leave the town as they found it.

Upon their departure our men had opportunity to proceed on their voyage, and using the occasion, they left Astracan, and came to Bilbil towards the end of October: from whence they went to Shavaran, where (as they lodged in their tents) they were greatly molested with strange troops of sholcaves or foxes; which were so busy with them that they took their meat and victuals out of their lodgings, and devoured to the bare bones in one

night a mighty wild Boar that was sent unto them for a present from the governor of the country.

Having stayed here some three or four days in providing of carriages and other necessities for their journey, they departed thence and came to Shamaky, which is four days' journey from the aforesaid Shavaran. In this town of Shamaki their whole company spent out the Winter; and from thence in April following; they took their journey towards Ardouil, a place of great account and much esteemed, by reason of the sepulchres of the Emperors of Persia, which for the most part lie there buried; and so is grown to be a place of their superstitious devotion. In this town of Ardouil they sojourned the space of 5 or 6 months, finding some traffic and sales; but to no purpose, the town being more inhabited and frequented with gentlemen and noblemen than merchants.

The difference of religion bred great broils in this town whilst they remained there: for the brother sought the destruction of the brother, and the nearest kinsmen rose up one against another, insomuch that one of their company, Lionel Plumtree, hath seen in one day sometimes 14 slain in a garboil. And he being further desirous to see their manner of fight, or rather somewhat more curious to behold, than mistrustful of their blows, was like to have borne a share in their bloody tragedy, being twice wounded with their shot and arrows, although not to the death.

The members of the expedition separate, and after many adventures meet again; Banister and others having died in the meantime, "by reason of the unwholesomeness of the air, and corruption of the waters in the hot season."



Lionel Plumbtree was twice wounded

They came at last to Shavaran again, where their ship was in harbour, and then they shipped all their goods and embarked themselves also, intending to fetch Astracan. By reason of the variety of the winds and dangerous flats of the Caspian Sea, they beat it up and down some 20 days. And the 28 day riding at anchor upon the flats, certain Russe Cassaks, which are outlaws or banished men, having intelligence of their being there, and of the great wealth that they had with them, came to them with divers boats under the colour of friendship, and entered their ship; but immediately they took their hatchets and slew divers of the Russes that were of the ship upon the hatches. Whereupon Master Ducket, Lionell Plumtree, William Smith, the master, a man of singular valour, and Amos Riall being under the Spar-deck, did so well behave themselves, that they scoured the hatches, and slew 14 of the Cassak's gunners, and hurt and wounded about 30 more; being of them all in number 150 at the least, armed with calivers and other weapons fit for so villainous a purpose.

Master Ducket notwithstanding, and the rest aforesaid, received divers wounds from the enemy, and were so hurt, and withal so oppressed with the multitude and force of them, that they were at last constrained to make an agreement with the Cassaks by rendering the ship into their hands; having received first their oaths sworn by their crucifixes, not to do any further harm to their persons.

Thus the ship being taken, and all the English grievously hurt, the Cassaks immediately discharged the ship of them, putting them all into the ship-boat with two or three Persian targets full of horse flesh and swine's

flesh, without further victuals or relief. They being in that case, made the best haste they could to get to Astracan: and being come to the town, Master Ducket made great suit to the captain to have men and boats set out for the rescuing and recovering of the ship if it were possible: who immediately sent out his son with forty boats and five hundred men to pursue the Pirates, and by good hap came to the place where they rode at anchor with the ship; but by reason of their foolishness in striking up their drums before they were come near them, the Cassaks discovering the boats, cut their cables and put out to sea; whereupon the boats not being able to follow them, returned again to Astracan. After which, 60 boats more were sent out to pursue them again the second time: and that second army came to a place where they found many of those Cassaks and slew them, and found out the places where they had hid certain parcels of their goods in the earth in the chests of the ship: all which they recovered



again for the English merchants, but all the rest the Cassaks in the ship had carried away.

THE CROWNING OF A RUSSIAN EMPEROR

The old Emperor, Ivan Vasiliwich, who received Richard Chancellor with kindness, died in April 1584. The following is a famous account by the English merchant, Jerome Horsey, of the coronation of his successor.

THE time of mourning after their use being expired, (called Sorachyn, or forty orderly days), the day of the solemnizing of this coronation, with great preparations, was come; being upon the 10 day of June, 1584, and that day then Sunday, he being of the age of 25 years: at which time, Master Jerom Horsey was orderly sent for, and placed in a fit room to see all the solemnity. The Emperor coming out of his Palace, there went before him, the Metropolitan, Archbishops, Bishops, and chiefest Monks and Clergymen, with very rich Copes and Priests' garments upon them, carrying pictures of our Lady etc. with the Emperor's Angel, banners, censers, and many other such ceremonious things, singing all the way. The Emperor with his nobility, in order, entered the Church named Blaveshina, or Blessedness, where prayers and service were used, according to the manner of their Church: that done, they went thence to the Church, called Michael the Archangel, and there also used the like prayers and service: and from thence to our Lady Church,

Prechista, being their Cathedral Church. In the midst thereof was a chair of majesty placed, wherein his Ancestors used to sit at such extraordinary times: his robes were then changed, and most rich and invaluable garments put on him. Being placed in this Princely seat, his nobility standing round about him in their degrees, his imperial Crown was set upon his head by the Metropolitan; his Sceptre globe in his right hand, his sword of Justice in his left of great riches: his 6 Crowns also, by which he holdeth his kingdoms were set before him, and the Lord Boris Pheodorowich was placed at his right hand. Then the Metropolitan read openly a book of a small volume, with exhortations to the Emperor to minister true Justice, to enjoy with tranquillity the Crown of his ancestors, which God had given him. And so the Metropolitan blessed and laid his cross upon him. After this, he was taken out of his chair of Majesty, having upon him an upper robe adorned with precious stones of all sorts, orient pearls of great quantity; it was in weight two hundred pounds, the train and parts thereof borne up by 6 Dukes, his chief imperial Crown upon his head, very precious: his staff imperial in his right hand of an unicorn's horn of three foot and a half in length beset with rich stones. His sceptre globe was carried before him by the Prince Boris Pheodorowich, his rich cap beset with rich stones and pearls was carried before him by a Duke: his 6 Crowns also were carried by brothers of the blood royal. Thus at last the Emperor came to the great Church door, and the people cried, "God save our Emperor Pheodor Ivanowich of all Russia." His horse was there ready most richly adorned, with a covering of embroidered pearl and precious stones, saddle, and all



furniture agreeable to it, reported to be worth 300,000 marks sterling.

There was a bridge made of 150 fathom in length three manner of ways,¹ three foot above ground and two fathom broad, for him to go from one Church to the other with his Princes and nobles from the press of the people, which were in number infinite, and some at that time pressed to death with the throng. As the Emperor returned out of the Churches, they were spread under foot with cloth of gold; the porches of the Churches with red velvet, the bridges with scarlet, and stammel cloth from one church to another: and as soon as the Emperor was passed by, the cloth of gold, velvet and scarlet was cut, and taken of those that could come by it, every man desirous to have a piece, to reserve it for a monument: silver and gold coin, then minted of purpose, was cast

¹ In three directions.

among the people in great quantity. The Lord Boris Pheodorowich was sumptuously and richly attired, with his garments decked with great orient pearl, beset with all sorts of precious stones. In like rich manner were apparelled the rest of the Princes and nobility; whereof one whose robe, horse, and furniture, was in register found worth one hundred thousand marks sterling, being of great antiquity. The Empress being in her palace, was placed in her chair of Majesty also before a great open window: most precious and rich were her robes, and shining to behold, with rich stones, and orient pearl beset; her crown was placed upon her head, accompanied with her Princesses and Ladies of estate: then cried out the people, "God preserve our noble Empress Irenia." After all this the Emperor came into the Parliament house which was richly decked: there he was placed in his royal seat adorned as before: his 6 crowns were set before him upon a table: the basin, and ewer royal of gold held by his knight of guard, with his men standing two on each side in white apparel of cloth of silver, called Kindry, with sceptres, and battle axes of gold in their hands: the Princes and nobility were all placed according to their degrees, all in their rich robes.

The Emperor after a short oration, permitted every man in order to kiss his hand: which being done, he removed to a princely seat prepared for him at the table: where he was served by his nobles in very princely order. The three out rooms, being very great and large, were beset with plate of gold, and silver round, from the ground up to the vaults, one upon the other: among which plate were many barrels of silver and gold. This solemnity and triumph lasted a whole week, wherein many royal

pastimes were showed and used: after which the chiefest men of the nobility were elected to their places of office and dignity.

The conclusion of the Emperor's Coronation was a peal of ordnance, called a peal royal, two miles without the city, being 170 great pieces of brass of all sorts, as fair as any can be made; these pieces were all discharged with shot against bulwarks made of purpose: 20 thousand arquebusers standing in 8 ranks two miles in length, appavelled all in velvet, coloured silk and stammels, discharged their shot also twice over in good order: and so the Emperor accompanied with all his Princes and nobles, at the least 50 thousand horse, departed through the City to his palace. This royal coronation would ask much time, and many leaves of paper to be described particularly as it was performed: it shall suffice, to understand that the like magnificence was never seen in Russia.

A PORTUGUESE PRISONER WRITES OF THE CHINESE

The unknown mysteries of the East had drawn Englishmen to seek a passage thither through the Arctic seas. The following is a contemporary description of the land of China by a Portuguese—"a Gentleman of good credit, that lay prisoner in that Country many years."

THIS land of China is parted into 13 Shires,¹ the which

¹ Really China was divided into 18 provinces.

sometimes were each one a kingdom by itself, but these many years they have been all subject unto one King.

There is placed in each one a Tutan, as you would say, a governor; and a Chian, that is a visitor, as it were: whose office is to go in circuit, and to see justice exactly done. By these means so uprightly things are ordered there, that it may be worthily accounted one of the best governed provinces in all the world.

The King maketh always his abode in the great city Pachin ¹—as much to say in our language, as by the name thereof I am advertised—the town of the kingdom. This kingdom is so large, that under five months you are not able to travel from the Towns by the Seaside to the Court, and back again; no not under three months in post at your urgent business. The post-horses in this Country are little of body, but swift of foot. Many do travel the greater part of this journey by water in certain light barques, for the multitude of Rivers commodious for passage from one City to another.

The King, notwithstanding the hugeness of his kingdom, has such a care thereof, that every Moon (for by the Moons they reckon their months) he is advertised fully of whatsoever thing happeneth therein, by these means following.

The whole province being divided into shires, and each shire having in it one chief and principal City, whereunto the matters of all the other Cities, Towns and boroughs, are brought, there are drawn in every chief City aforesaid, intelligences of such things as do monthly fall out, and be sent in writing to the Court. If haply in one month every Post be not able to go so long a way,

¹ Peking.

yet doth there notwithstanding once every month arrive one Post out of the shire. Whoso cometh before the new moon, stayeth for the delivery of his letters until the moon be changed. Then likewise are dispatched other Posts back into all the 13 shires again.

Before that we do come to Cinceo we have to pass through many places, and some of great importance. For this Country is so well inhabited near the Seaside, that you cannot go one mile but you shall see some Town, borough or hostelry, the which are so abundantly provided of all things, that in the Cities and towns they live civilly. Nevertheless such as dwell abroad are very poor, for the multitude of them everywhere is so great, that out of a tree you shall see many times swarm a number of children, where a man would not have thought to have found any one at all.

From these places in number infinite, you shall come unto two Cities very populous, and, being compared with Cinceo, not possibly to be discerned which is the greater of them. These cities are as well walled as any Cities in all the world. As you come into either of them, there standeth so great and mighty a bridge, that the like thereof I have never seen in Portugal nor elsewhere. I heard one of my fellows say, that he told in one bridge 40 arches. The occasion wherefore these bridges are made so great is, for that the Country is toward the sea very plain and low, and overflowed ever as the sea water increaseth. The breadth of the bridges, although it be well proportioned unto the length thereof, yet are they equally built, no higher in the middle than at either end, in such wise that you may see directly from the one end to the other: the sides are wonderfully well engraved

after the manner of Rome-works. But that we did most marvel at, was therewithal the hugeness of the stones; the like whereof, as we came into the City, we did see many set up in places dishabited by the way, to no small charges of theirs, howbeit to little purpose, whereas nobody seeth them but such as do come by. The arches are not made after our fashion, vaulted with sundry stones set together: but paved, as it were, whole stones reaching from one pillar to another, in such wise that they lie both for the arches' head, and gallantly serve also for the highway. I have been astonished to behold the hugeness of the aforesaid stones: some of them are xii paces long and upward, the least 11 good paces long, and an half.

The ways each-where are gallantly paved with four-square stone, except it be where for want of stone they use to lay brick: in this voyage we travelled over certain hills, where the ways were pitched, and in many places no worse paved than in the plain ground. This causeth us to think, that in all the world there be no better workmen for buildings than the inhabitants of China. The Country is so well inhabited, that no one foot of ground is left untilled: small store of cattle have we seen this day, we saw only certain oxen wherewithal the countrymen do plough their ground. One ox draweth the plough alone, not only in this shire, but in other places also, wherein is greater store of cattle. There is great abundance of hens, geese, ducks, swine, and goats; wethers have they none: the hens are sold by weight, and so are all other things. Swines' flesh is sold at a penny the pound. Beef beareth the same price, for the scarcity thereof; howbeit Northward from Fuquieo¹ and farther off from

¹ Fuchow.

the sea coast, there is beef more plenty and sold better cheap; we have had in all the Cities we passed through, great abundance of all these victuals, beef only excepted. And if this Country were like unto India, the inhabitants whereof eat neither hen, beef, nor pork, but keep that only for the Portugals and Moores, they would be sold here for nothing. But it so falling out, that the Chineans are the greatest eaters in all the world, they do feed upon all things, specially on pork, which, the fatter it is, is unto them the less loathsome. The highest price of these things aforesaid I have set down; better cheap shall you sometimes buy them, for the great plenty thereof in this country. Frogs are sold at the same price that is made of hens, and are good meat amongst them; as also dogs, cats, rats, snakes, and all other unclean meats.

The Cities be very gallant, specially near unto the gates, the which are marvellously great, and covered with iron. The gate-houses are built on high with towers, and the lower part thereof is made of brick and stone, proportionally with the walls; from the walls upward the building is of timber, and many stories in it one above the other. The strength of their towns is in the mighty walls and ditches; artillery have they none.

The streets in Cinceo and in all the rest of the Cities we have seen are very fair, so large and so straight, that it is wonderful to behold. Their houses are built with timber, the foundations only excepted, the which are laid with stone: in each side of the streets are pen-tices, or continual porches for the merchants to walk under: the breadth of the streets is nevertheless such, that in them 15 men may ride commodiously side by side. As they ride they must needs pass under many high arches

of triumph that cross over the streets, made of timber and carved diversely, covered with tiles of fine clay: under these arches the Mercers do utter their smaller wares, and such as list to stand there are defended from rain and the heat of the Sun. The greater gentlemen have these arches at their doors: although some of them be not so mightily built as the rest.

I shall have occasion to speak of a certain order of gentlemen that are called Louteas. I will first therefore expound what this word signifieth. Loutea is as much to say in our language as Sir, and when any of them calleth his name, he answereth "Sir": and as we do say, that the King hath made some gentleman; so say they, that here is made a Loutea.

It is a world to see how these Louteas are served and feared; in such wise, that in public assemblies at one shriek they give, all the servitors belonging unto justice tremble thereat: when they list to move, be it but even to the gate, these servitors do take them up, and carry them in seats of beaten gold. After this sort are they borne when they go in the City, either for their own business abroad, or to see each other at home. For the dignity they have and office they do bear, they be all accompanied: the very meanest of them all that goeth in these seats is ushered by two men at the least, that cry unto the people to give place; howbeit they need it not, for that reverence the common people have unto them. They have also in their company certain Sergeants with their Maces, either silvered or altogether silver; some two, some four, other six, other eight, conveniently for each one his degree. The more principal and chief Louteas have going orderly before these Ser-

geants, many others with staves; and a great many catch-poles with rods of Indish canes dragged on the ground, so that the streets being paved, you may hear afar off as well the noise of the rods, as the voice of the criers. These fellows serve also to apprehend others, and the better to be known they wear livery red girdles, and in their caps peacocks' feathers. Behind these Louteas come such as do bear certain tables hanged at staves' ends, wherein is written in silver letters, the name, degree, and office of that Loutea, whom they follow. In like manner they have borne after them hats agreeable unto their titles: if the Loutea be mean, then hath he brought after him but one hat, and that may not be yellow: but if he be of the better sort, then may he have two, three, or four: the principal and chief Louteas may have all their hats yellow, the which among them is accounted great honour. The Loutea for wars, although he be but mean, may notwithstanding have yellow hats. The Tutans and Chians, when they go abroad, have besides all this before them led three or four horses with their guard in armour.

Furthermore the Louteas, yea and all the people of China, are wont to eat their meat sitting on stools at high tables as we do; and that very cleanly, although they use neither table-cloths nor napkins. Whatsoever is set down upon the board is first carved before that it be brought in: they feed with two sticks, refraining from touching their meat with their hands, even as we do with forks: for the which respect they less do need any table-cloths. Nor is the nation only civil at meat, but also in conversation; and in courtesy they seem to exceed all other. Likewise in their dealings after their manner they are so ready, that they far pass all other Gentiles

and Moores: the greater states are so vain, that they line their clothes with the best silk that may be found. The Louteas are an idle generation, without all manner of exercises and pastimes, except it be eating and drinking. Sometimes they walk abroad in the fields to make the soldiers shoot at pricks with their bows, but their eating passeth: they will stand eating even when the other do draw to shoot. The prick is a great blanket spread on certain long poles; he that striketh it, hath of the best man there standing, a piece of crimson Taffeta, the which is knit about his head: in this sort the winners be honoured, and the Louteas with their bellies full return home again.

Now will I speak of the manner which the Chineans do observe in doing of justice, that it may be known how far these Gentiles do herein exceed many Christians, that be more bounden than they to deal justly and in truth. Because the Chinish King maketh his abode continually in the City Pachin, his kingdom so great, and the shires so many, as before it hath been said: in it therefore the governors and rulers, much like unto our Sheriffs, be appointed so suddenly and speedily discharged again, that they have no time to grow naughty. Furthermore to keep the State in more security, the Lou-teas that govern one shire are chosen out of some other shire distant far off; where they must leave their wives, children and goods, carrying nothing with them but themselves. True it is, that at their coming thither they do find in a readiness all things necessary, their house, furniture, servants, and all other things in such perfection and plenty, that they want nothing. Thus the King is well served without all fear of treason.

In the principal Cities of the shires be four chief Louteas, before whom are brought all matters of the inferior Towns, throughout the whole Realm. Divers other Louteas have the managing of justice, and receiving of rents; bound to yield an account thereof unto the greater officers. Other do see that there be no evil rule kept in the City: each one as it behoveth him. Generally all these do imprison malefactors, cause them to be whipped and racked, hoisting them up and down by the arms with a cord, a thing very usual there, and accounted no shame. These Louteas do use great diligence in the apprehending of thieves, so that it is a wonder to see a thief escape away in any City, town or village. Upon the sea near unto the shore many are taken and, look, even as they are taken, so be they first whipped, and afterward laid in prison, where shortly after they all die for hunger and cold. At that time when we were in prison, there died of them above threescore and ten. If haply any-one, having the means to get food, do escape, he is set with the condemned persons, and provided for as they be by the King, in such wise as hereafter it shall be said.

Somewhat is now to be said of the laws that I have been able to know in this Country, and first, no theft or murder is at any time pardoned: but thieves and murderers are imprisoned as I have said, where they shortly die for hunger and cold. If anyone haply escape by bribing the gaoler to give him meat, his process goeth further, and cometh to the Court where he is condemned to die. Sentence being given, the prisoner is brought in public with a terrible band of men that lay him in irons hand and foot; with a board at his neck one handfull broad, in length reaching down to his knees, cleft in two

parts, and with a hole one handful downward in the table fit for his neck, the which they enclose up therein, nailing the board fast together; one handful of the board standeth up behind in the neck. The sentence and cause wherefore the felon was condemned to die, is written in that part of the table that standeth before.

This ceremony ended, he is laid in a great prison in the company of some other condemned persons, the which are found by the King as long as they do live. The board aforesaid so made tormenteth the prisoners very much, keeping them both from rest, and eke letting them to eat commodiously, their hands being manacled in irons under that board, so that in fine there is no remedy but death. In the chief Cities of every shire, as we have said, there be four principal houses, in each of them a prison: but in one of them, where the Taissu¹ maketh his abode, there is a greater and a more principal prison than in any of the rest: and although in every City there be many, nevertheless in three of them remain only such as be condemned to die. Their death is much prolonged, for that ordinarily there is no execution done but once a year, though many die for hunger and cold, as we have seen in this prison. Execution is done in this manner. The Chian, to wit, the High Commissioner or Lord Chief Justice, at the year's end goeth to the head City, where he heareth again the causes of such as be condemned. Many times he delivereth some of them, declaring the board to have been wrongfully put about their necks. The visitation ended, he chooseth out seven or eight, not many more or less of the greatest malefactors, the which, to

¹ The fourth officer or magistrate in the chief city of a Chinese province.

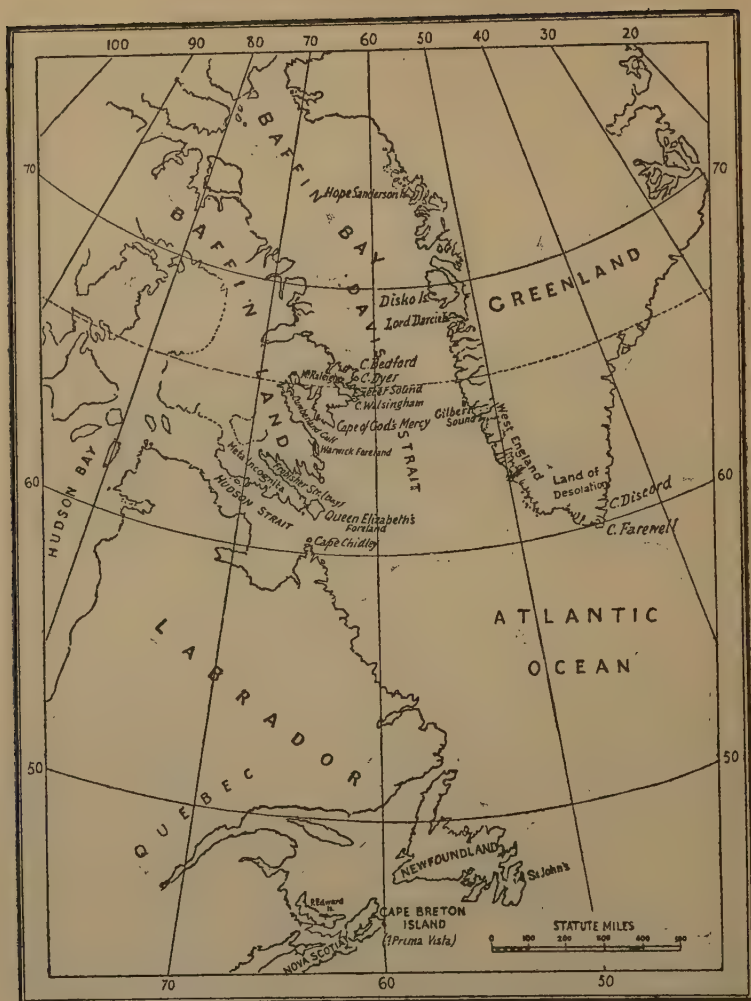
fear and keep in awe the people, are brought into a great market place, where all the great Louteas meet together; and after many ceremonies and superstitions, as the use of the Country is, are beheaded. This is done once a year: whoso escapeth that day, may be sure that he shall not be put to death all that year following; and so remaineth at the King's charges in the greater prison. In that prison where we lay were always one hundred and more of these condemned persons, besides them that lay in other prisons.

When I said, that such as be committed to prison for theft and murder were judged by the Court, I meant not them that were apprehended in the deed doing, for they need no trial, but are brought immediately before the Tutan, who out of hand giveth sentence. Others not taken so openly, which do need trial, are the malefactors put to execution once a year in the chief cities, to keep in awe the people: or condemned, do remain in prison, looking for their day. Thieves, being taken, are carried to prison from one place to another in a chest upon men's shoulders, hired therefor by the King; the chest is 6 handfuls high, the prisoner sitteth therein upon a bench, the cover of the chest is two boards, amid them both a pillory-like hole, for the prisoner's neck; there sitteth he with his head without the chest, and the rest of his body within, not able to move or turn his head this way or that way, nor to pluck it in. The meat he eateth is put into his mouth by others. There abideth he day and night during his whole journey: if haply his porters stumble, or the chest do jog or be set down carelessly, it turneth to his great pains that sitteth therein, all such motions being unto him hanging as it were. Thus were



our companions carried from Cinceo, 7 days' journey, never taking any rest as afterward they told us; and their greatest grief was to stay by the way: as soon as they came, being taken out of the chests, they were not able to stand on their feet, and two of them died shortly after. When we lay in prison at Fuquieo, we came many times abroad, and were brought to the palaces of noblemen, to be seen of them and their wives, for that they had never seen any Portugal before. Many things they asked us of our Country, and our fashions, and did write every-

thing, for they be curious in novelties above measure. The gentlemen show great courtesy unto strangers, and so did we find at their hands; and because that many times we were brought abroad into the City, somewhat will I say of such things as I did see therein—being a gallant City, and chief in one of the 13 shires aforesaid. The City Fuquieo is very great, and mightily walled with square stone both within and without; and, as it may seem by the breadth thereof, filled up in the middle with earth, laid over with brick and covered with tile, after the manner of porches or galleries, that one might dwell therein. The stairs they use are so easily made, that one may go them up and down a-horseback, as eftsoons they do: the streets are paved, as already it hath been said: there be a great number of Merchants; every one hath written in a great table at his door such things as he hath to sell. In like manner every artisan painteth out his craft: the market places be large, great abundance of all things there be to be sold. The City standeth upon water; many streams run through it, the banks pitched, and so broad that they serve for streets to the City's use. Over the streams are sundry bridges, both of timber and stone; which being made level with the streets, hinder not the passage of the barges to and fro, the channels are so deep. Where the streams come in and go out of the City, be certain arches in the wall: there go in and out their Parai, that is a kind of barges they have, and that in the daytime only: at night these arches are closed up with gates: so do they shut up all the gates of the City. These streams and barges do ennoble very much the City, and make it as it were to seem another Venice.



The search for a north-west passage

III. THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE

As the sea-route to China and the riches of the East was barred by Portugal, so the way westward, through Magellan's Straits, was barred by Spain. Englishmen were finding that a North-East passage did not exist; so that if trouble with their powerful neighbours were to be avoided, there remained only the chance of a passage by the North-West—somewhere between the unknown Northern coasts of America and the Pole. It was a search, in fact, equally hopeless, but a story equally heroic.

THE DISCOVERY OF FROBISHER'S STRAITS

Martin Frobisher has been called "the best seaman, and the bravest in the country." The "Straits" which he discovered we know now to be a bay and not a passage; but he believed that Asia and America lay close together and that he had found a way through, by which to reach the East.

HE prepared two small barques of twenty and five and twenty ton apiece, wherein he intended to accomplish his pretended voyage. Wherefore, being furnished with the foresaid two barques, and one small pinnace of ten ton burden, having therein victuals and other necessities for twelve months' provision, he departed upon the said voyage from Blackwall the 15 of June, 1576.

One of the barques wherein he went was named The Gabriel, and the other The Michael; and sailing North-west from England upon the 11 of July he had sight of an high and ragged land, which he judged to be Frisland,¹ but durst not approach the same by reason of the great store of ice that lay along the coast, and the great mists that troubled them not a little. Not far from hence

¹ Frequently mentioned in early voyages; it has never been identified, but is almost certainly the Southern coast of Greenland.

he lost company of his small pinnace, which by means of the great storm he supposed to be swallowed up of the Sea, wherein he lost only four men.

Also the other barque named *The Michael*, mistrusting the matter, conveyed themselves privily away from him, and returned home, with great report that he was cast away.

The worthy captain notwithstanding these discomforts, although his mast was sprung, and his top-mast blown overboard with extreme foul weather, continued his course towards the North-west; knowing that the sea at length must needs have an ending, and that some land should have a beginning that way; and determined therefore at the least to bring true proof what land and sea the same might be so far to the North-westwards, beyond any man that hath heretofore discovered. And the twentieth of July he had sight of an high land, which he called *Queen Elizabeth's Foreland*, after her Majesty's name. And sailing more Northerly along that coast, he descried another foreland with a great gut, bay, or passage, dividing as it were two main lands or continents asunder. There he met with store of exceeding great ice all this coast along; and coveting still to continue his course to the Northwards, was always by contrary wind detained overthwart these straits, and could not get beyond. Within few days after, he perceived the ice to be well consumed and gone; either there engulfed in by some swift currents or indrafts, carried more to the Southwards of the same straits, or else conveyed some other way: wherefore he determined to make proof of this place, to see how far that gut had continuance, and whether he might carry himself through the same into some open sea on

the back side; whereof he conceived no small hope, and so entered the same the one and twentieth of July, and passed above fifty leagues therein, as he reported, having upon either hand a great main or continent. And that land upon his right hand as he sailed Westward he judged to be the continent of Asia, and there to be divided from the firm of America, which lieth upon the left hand over against the same.

This place he named after his name, Frobisher's straits, like as Magellan at the South-west end of the world, having discovered the passage to the South sea (where America is divided from the continent of that land, which lieth under the South pole) and called the same straits, Magellan's straits.

FROBISHER'S THIRD VOYAGE TO THE NORTH-WEST

After discovering the "Straits," Frobisher returned to England, bringing with him "a piece of black stone" which was thought to contain gold; and on a second voyage he found great quantities of this ore. It was really worthless; but Queen Elizabeth, hoping to find great wealth, helped him to collect a fleet of fifteen ships for a third voyage. It was intended to leave a small colony "for the better guard of those parts already found, and for the further discovery of the secrets of those countries." Materials were taken for "a strong fort or house of timber," with thirty miners and "certain numbers of chosen soldiers and discreet men to inhabit there." The fleet sailed in May 1578, and reached "West England" [Greenland] on June 30th.

HAVING a fair and large wind we departed from thence towards Frobisher's Straits, the three and twentieth of

June. But first we gave name to a high cliff in West England, the last that was in our sight, and for a certain similitude we called it Charing Cross. Then we bare Southerly towards the Sea, because to the Northwards of this coast we met with much driving ice, which by reason of the thick mists and weather might have been some trouble unto us.

On Monday the last of June, we met with many great Whales, as they had been Porpoises.

This same day the Salamander being under both her courses and bonnets,¹ happened to strike a great Whale with her full stem, with such a blow that the ship stood still, and stirred neither forward nor backward. The Whale thereat made a great and ugly noise, and cast up his body and tail, and so went under water; and within two days after, there was found a great Whale dead, swimming above water, which we supposed was that which the Salamander struck.

The second day of July early in the morning we had sight of the Queen's Foreland, and bare in with the land all the day; and passing through great quantity of ice, by night were entered somewhat within the Straits, perceiving no way to pass further in, the whole place being frozen over from the one side to the other, and as it were with many walls, mountains, and bulwarks of ice, choked up the passage, and denied us entrance.

And all these floating ice are not only so dangerous in that they wind and gather so near together, that a man may pass sometimes ten or twelve miles as it were upon one firm Island of ice: but also for that they open and shut together again in such sort with the tides and sea-

¹ She had her larger sails set and was going fast. See Glossary.

gate, that while one ship followeth the other with full sails, the ice which was open unto the foremost will join and close together before the latter can come to follow the first; whereby many times our ships were brought into great danger, as being not able so suddenly to take in our sails, or stay the swift way of our ships.

We were forced many times to stem and strike great rocks of ice, and so as it were make way through mighty mountains. By which means some of the fleet, where they found the ice to open, entered in, and passed so far within the danger thereof, with continual desire to recover their port, that it was the greatest wonder of the world that they ever escaped safe, or were ever heard of again. For even at this present we missed two of the fleet; that is, the Judith, wherein was the Lieutenant-General Captain Fenton; and the Michael, whom both we supposed had been utterly lost, having not heard any tidings of them in more than 20 days before.

And one of our fleet named the Bark Dennis, being of an hundred ton burden, seeking way in amongst these ice, received such a blow with a rock of ice that she sunk down therewith in the sight of the whole fleet. Howbeit, having signified her danger by shooting off a piece of great Ordnance, new succour of other ships came so readily unto them, that the men were all saved with boats.

Within this ship that was drowned there was part of our house which was to be erected for them that should stay all the winter in Meta Incognita.¹

This was a more fearful spectacle for the Fleet to behold, for that the outrageous storm which presently followed, threatened them the like fortune and danger.

¹ "The unknown boundary"—so named by Queen Elizabeth.

For the Fleet being thus compassed (as aforesaid) on every side with ice; having left much behind them, through which they passed, and finding more before them, through which it was not possible to pass, there arose a sudden terrible tempest at the South-east; which blowing from the main sea, directly upon the place of the Straits, brought together all the ice a-sea-board of us upon our backs, and thereby debarred us of turning back to recover sea-room again: so that being thus compassed with danger on every side, sundry men with sundry devices sought the best way to save themselves. Some of the ships, where they could find a place more clear of ice, and get a little berth of sea-room, did take in their sails, and there lay adrift. Other some fastened and moored anchor upon a great Island of ice, and rode under the lee thereof; supposing to be better guarded thereby from the outrageous winds, and the danger of the lesser floating ice. And again some were so fast shut up, and compassed in amongst an infinite number of great countries and Islands of ice, that they were fain to submit themselves and their ships to the mercy of the unmerciful ice; and strengthened the sides of their ships with junks of cables, beds, masts, planks and such-like; which being hanged overboard on the sides of their ships, might the better defend them from the outrageous sway and strokes of the said ice. But as in greatest distress, men of best valour are best to be discerned; so it is greatly worthy commendation and noting, with what invincible mind every Captain encouraged his company, and with what incredible labour the painful Mariners and poor miners (unacquainted with such extremities) to the everlasting renown of our nation, did overcome the brunt of these

so great and extreme dangers. For some, even without-board upon the ice, and some within-board upon the sides of their ships, having poles, pikes, pieces of timber, and oars in their hands, stood almost day and night without any rest; bearing off the force, and breaking the sway of the ice with such incredible pain and peril, that it was wonderful to behold; which otherwise no doubt had stricken quite through and through the sides of their ships, notwithstanding our former provision: for planks of timber of more than three inches thick, and other things of greater force and bigness, by the surging of the sea and billow, with the ice were shivered and cut in sunder, at the sides of our ships; so that it will seem more than credible to be reported of. And yet (that which is more) it is faithfully and plainly to be proved, and that by many substantial witnesses, that our ships, even those of greatest burdens, with the meeting of contrary waves of the sea, were heaved up between Islands of ice, a foot well-near out of the sea above their water-mark, having their knees and timbers within-board both bowed and broken therewith.

After much hardship and adventure within the Straits it was found impossible to make provision for a colony, and Frobisher decided to return. The fleet sailed to the mouth of the Straits, leaving the General (Frobisher) and Captain Best of the "Anne Francis" with three ships to finish loading and collect stragglers.

The General in the morning, departed to sea in the Gabriel to seek the Fleet, leaving the Busse of Bridgewater, and the Michael behind in Bear's Sound. The Busse set sail, and thought by turning in the narrow channel within the harbour, to get to windward: but being

put to leeward more, by that means was fain to come to anchor for her better safety, amongst a number of rocks; and there left in great danger of ever getting forth again. [The Michael set sail to follow the General, and could give the Busse no relief, although they earnestly desired the same. And the Captain of the Anne Francis was left in hard election of two evils: either to abide his fortune with the Busse of Bridgewater, which was doubtful of ever getting forth; or else to be towed in his small Pinnace at the stern of the Michael through the raging Seas; for that the Bark was not able to receive or relieve half his company, wherein his danger was not a little perilous.

So after he resolved to commit himself with all his company unto that fortune of God and Sea, and was dangerously towed at the stern of the Bark for many miles; until at length they espied the Anne Francis under sail, hard under their lee, which was no small comfort unto them. For no doubt, both those and a great number more, had perished for lack of victuals, and convenient room in the Bark, without the help of the said Ship. But the honest care that the Master of the Anne Francis had of his Captain, and the good regard of duty towards his General, suffered him not to depart; but honestly abode to hazard a dangerous road all the night long, notwithstanding all the stormy weather, when all the Fleet besides departed. And the Pinnace came no sooner aboard the ship, and the men entered, but she presently shivered and fell in pieces, and sunk at the ship's stern, with all the poor men's furniture: so weak was the boat with towing, and so forcible was the sea to bruise her in pieces. But (as God would) the men were all saved.

At this present in this storm, many of the Fleet were dangerously distressed, and were severed almost all asunder. Yet, thanks be to God, all the Fleet arrived safely in England about the first of October, some in one place and some in another. But amongst other, it was most marvellous how the Busse of Bridgewater got away; who being left behind the Fleet in great danger of never getting forth, was forced to seek a way Northward through an unknown channel full of rocks, upon the back side of Bear's Sound; and there, by good hap, found out a way—a very dangerous attempt.

There died in the whole Fleet in all this voyage not above forty persons, which number is not great, considering how many ships were in the Fleet, and how strange fortunes we passed.

THE DISCOVERY OF DAVIS STRAIT

John Davis, "a man very well grounded in the art of navigation," was seeking, like Frobisher, "the Passage unto China and the Isles of the Moluccas." He sailed in the "Sunshine" with a merchant, Master John Janes, who wrote the following account of the voyage. William Bruton was Captain of "Moonshine."

THUS all things being put in readiness, we departed from Dartmouth the seventh of June, towards the discovery of the North-west passage, with two Barques; the one being of 50 tons, named the Sunshine of London, and the other being 35 tons, named the Moonshine of Dartmouth.

The first of July we saw great store of Porpoises. The Master called for an harping iron, and shot twice or thrice: sometimes he missed, and at last shot one and

struck him in the side, and wound him into the ship.

The 2 we had some of the fish sodden, and it did eat as sweet as any mutton.

The 3 we had more in sight, and the Master went to shoot at them; but they were so great, that they burst our irons, and we lost both fish, irons, pastime and all: yet nevertheless the Master shot at them with a pike, and had well-nigh gotten one, but he was so strong that he burst off the bars of the pike and went away: then he took the boat-hook, and hit one with that, but all would not prevail, so at length we let them alone.

The 6 we saw a very great Whale, and every day we saw whales continually.

The 16, 17, and 18 we saw great store of Whales.

The 19 of July we fell into a great whirling and brustling of a tide, setting to the Northwards: and sailing about half a league we came into a very calm Sea, which bent to the South-south-west. Here we heard a mighty great roaring of the Sea, as if it had been the breach of some shore; the air being so foggy and full of thick mist, that we could not see the one ship from the other, being a very small distance asunder: so the Captain and the Master being in distrust how the tide might set them, caused the Moonshine to hoist out her boat and to sound; but they could not find ground in 300 fathoms and better. Then the Captain, Master, and I went towards the breach, to see what it should be; giving charge to our gunners that at every glass¹ they should shoot off a musket-shot, to the intent we might keep ourselves from loosing them. Then coming near to the breach, we met many Islands

¹ Every half-hour: measured by turning an hour-glass filled with sand.

of ice floating, which had quickly compassed us about. Then we went upon some of them, and did perceive that all the roaring which we heard, was caused only by the rolling of this ice together. Our company seeing us not to return according to our appointment, left off shooting muskets, and began to shoot falkonets, for they feared some mishap had befallen us; but before night we came aboard again with our boat laden with ice, which made very good fresh water. Then we bent our course toward the North, hoping by that means to double the land.

The 20 as we sailed along the coast, the fog broke up, and we discovered the land, which was the most deformed rocky and mountainous land that ever we saw. The first sight whereof did show as if it had been in form of a sugar-loaf, standing to our sight above the clouds; for that it did show over the fog like a white list in the sky, the tops altogether covered with snow, and the shore beset with ice a league off into the Sea, making such irksome noise as that it seemed to be the true pattern of desolation; and after the same our Captain named it, "The Land of Desolation."

They had reached the East coast of Greenland, somewhere near Cape Discord. Being unable to land because of ice, they sail round Cape Farewell and up the West coast; on July 29th they land at Gilbert's Sound.

The 29 of July we discovered land in 64 degrees 15 minutes of latitude, bearing North-east from us. The wind being contrary to go to the North-westwards, we bare in with this land to take some view of it, being utterly void of the pester of ice, and very temperate. Coming near the coast, we found many fair sounds and

good roads for shipping, and many great inlets into the land, whereby we judged this land to be a great number of Islands standing together. Here having moored our barque in good order, we went on shore upon a small Island to seek for water and wood. Upon this Island we did perceive that there had been people: for we found a small shoe and pieces of leather sowed with sinews, and a piece of fur, and wool like to Beaver. Then we went upon another Island on the other side of our ships: and the Captain, the Master, and I, being got up to the top of an high rock, the people of the country having espied us, made a lamentable noise, as we thought, with great outcries and screechings: we hearing them, thought it had been the howling of wolves. At last I hallowed again, and they likewise cried. Then we perceiving where they stood, some on the shore, and one rowing in a Canoe about a small Island fast by them, we made a great noise; partly to allure them to us, and partly to warn our company of them. Whereupon Master Bruton and the Master of his ship, with others of their company, made great haste towards us; and brought our Musicians with them from our ship, purposing either by force to rescue us, if need should require, or with courtesy to allure the people. When they came unto us, we caused our Musicians to play, ourselves dancing, and making many signs of friendship. At length there came ten Canoes from the other Islands; and two of them came so near the shore where we were, that they talked with us, the other being in their boats a pretty way off. Their pronunciation was very hollow through the throat, and their speech such as we could not understand: only we allured them by friendly embracings, and signs of courtesy. At

length one of them pointing up to the Sun with his hand, would presently strike his breast so hard that we might hear the blow. This he did many times before he would any way trust us. Then John Ellis, the Master of the Moonshine, was appointed to use his best policy to gain their friendship; who struck his breast, and pointed to the Sun after their order: which when he had divers times done, they began to trust him, and one of them came on shore; to whom we threw our caps, stockings and gloves, and such other things as then we had about us, playing with our music, and making signs of joy, and dancing. So the night coming, we bade them farewell, and went aboard our barques.

And so the last of this month about four of the clock in the morning, in God's name we set sail, and were all that day becalmed upon the coast.

The first of August we had a fair wind, and so proceeded towards the North-west for our discovery.

The sixth of August ¹ we discovered land in 66 degrees 40 minutes of latitude, altogether void from the pester of ice: we anchored in a very fair road, under a brave mount, the cliffs whereof were as orient as gold. This mount was named Mount Raleigh. The road where our ships lay at anchor was called Totnes road. The sound which did compass the mount, was named Exeter sound. The foreland towards the North was called Dier's Cape. The foreland towards the South was named Cape Walsingham. So soon as we were come to an anchor in Totnes road under Mount Raleigh, we espied four white bears at the foot of the mount: we supposing them to be goats

¹ Between the 1st and the 6th of August they had crossed Davis Strait.

or wolves, manned our boats and went towards them; but when we came near the shore, we found them to be white bears of a monstrous bigness. We being desirous of fresh victual, and the sport, began to assault them; and I being on land, one of them came down the hill right against me: my piece was charged with hail-shot and a bullet. I discharged my piece and shot him in the neck; he roared a little, and took the water straight, making small account of his hurt. Then we followed him with our boat, and killed him with boar-spears, and two more that night.

The 7 we went on shore to another bear which lay all night upon the top of an Island under Mount Raleigh, and when we came up to him he lay fast asleep. I levelled at his head, and the stone of my piece gave no fire: with that he looked up and laid down his head again: then I shot, being charged with two bullets, and struck him in the head: he being but amazed fell backwards: whereupon we ran all upon him with boar-spears, and thrust him in the body: yet for all that he gripped away our boar-spears, and went towards the water; and as he was going down, he came back again. Then our Master shot his boar-spear, and struck him in the head, and made him to take the water, and swim into a cove fast by; where we killed him, and brought him aboard. The breadth of his forefoot from one side to the other was fourteen inches over. They were very fat, so as we were constrained to cast the fat away. We saw a raven upon Mount Raleigh. We found withies also growing like low shrubs, and flowers like Primroses in the said place. The coast is very mountainous, altogether without wood, grass, or earth, and is only huge mountains of stone; but

the bravest stone that ever we saw. The air was very moderate in this country.

The 8 we departed from Mount Raleigh, coasting along the shore.

The 9 our men fell in dislike of their allowance, because it was too small as they thought: whereupon we made a new proportion; every mess, being five to a mess, should have four pound of bread a day, twelve wine-quarts of beer, six Newland fishes; and the flesh days a gill of peas more: so we restrained them from their butter and cheese.

The 11 we came to the most Southerly cape of this land, which we named The Cape of God's mercy, as being the place of our first entrance for the discovery. The weather being very foggy we coasted this North land; at length when it brake up, we perceived that we were shot into a very fair entrance or passage,¹ being in some places twenty leagues broad, and in some thirty, altogether void of any pester of ice; the weather very tolerable, and the water of the very colour, nature and quality of the main ocean; which gave us the greater hope of our passage. Having sailed North-west sixty leagues in this entrance, we discovered certain Islands standing in the midst thereof, having open passage on both sides. Whereupon our ships divided themselves, the one sailing on the North side, the other on the South side of the said Isles; where we stayed five days, having very foggy and foul weather.

The 14 we went on shore and found signs of people, for we found stones laid up together like a wall, and saw the skull of a man or a woman.

¹ Cumberland Gulf.

The 15 we heard dogs howl on the shore, which we thought had been wolves; and therefore we went on shore to kill them. When we came on land the dogs came presently to our boat very gently, yet we thought they came to prey upon us, and therefore we shot at them, and killed two: and about the neck of one of them we found a leathern collar, whereupon we thought them to be tame dogs. There were twenty dogs like mastiffs with pricked ears and long bush tails. Then we went farther, and found two sledges made like ours in England: the one was made of fir, spruce and oaken boards sawn like inch boards: the other was made all of whale-bone; and there hung on the tops of the sledges three heads of beasts which they had killed. We saw here larks, ravens, and partridges.

The 17 we went on shore, and in a little thing made like an oven with stones, I found many small trifles; as a small canoe made of wood, a piece of wood made like an image, a bird made of bone, beads having small holes in one end of them to hang about their necks, and other small things. The coast was very barren without wood or grass: the rocks were very fair like marble, full of veins of divers colours. We found a seal which was killed not long before, being flayed, and hid under stones.

Contrary winds prevented them from searching further to the North-West, and they returned to England. Davis made two later voyages in this direction, exploring Davis Strait as far North as Hope Sanderson, and also reaching Cape Chidley, to the South of Hudson's Strait—which Strait he was the first to discover.

IV. VOYAGES TO THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

A voyage to the Mediterranean, and especially to its Eastern shores—"the Levant"—was a perilous undertaking for Englishmen; it was a region where "enemies of all kinds swarmed." Turks, Italians, Spanish and Portuguese, all were hostile to and jealous of English adventure in these seas. In 1585 England and Spain were almost at war: the attempt to seize the "Primrose" under the King of Spain's "Commission"—and many English ships were actually seized under these orders—was one of the first open acts of war. The fight of the "Centurion" against six Spanish galleys has been compared with that of Grenville and the "Revenge" as one of the most brilliant actions of this time.

JOHN FOX OUTWITS THE TURKS

AMONG our merchants here in England, it is a common voyage to traffic into Spaine: whereunto a ship, being called The Three Half Moons, manned with 38 men and well fenced with munitions, the better to encounter their enemies withal, and having wind and tide, set [out] from Portsmouth, 1563; and bended her journey toward Seville, a city in Spaine, intending there to traffic with them. And falling near the Straits, they perceived themselves to be beset round with eight galleys of the Turkes, in such wise, that there was no way for them to fly or escape away, but that either they must yield or else be sunk. Which the owner perceiving, manfully encouraged his company, exhorting them valiantly to shew their manhood, shewing them that God was their God, and not their enemies'; requesting them also not to faint in seeing such a heap of their enemies ready to devour them.

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With other like encouragements, exhorting them to behave themselves manfully, they fell all on their knees making their prayers briefly unto God: who, being all risen up again, perceived their enemies by their signs and defiance bent to the spoil, whose mercy was nothing else but cruelty; whereupon every man took him to his weapon.

Then stood up one Grove the master, being a comely man, with his sword and target, holding them up in defiance against his enemies. So likewise stood up the Owner, the Master's mate, Boatswain, Purser, and every man well appointed. Now likewise sounded up the drums, trumpets and flutes, which would have encouraged any man, had he never so little heart or courage in him.

Then taketh him to his charge John Fox, the gunner, in the disposing of his pieces in order to the best effect, and sending his bullets towards the Turkes, who likewise

bestowed their pieces thrice as fast toward the Christians. But shortly they drew near, so that the bowmen fell to their charge in sending forth their arrows so thick amongst the Gallies, and also in doubling their shot so sore upon the galleys, that there were twice so many of the Turkes slain, as the number of the Christians were in all. But the Turkes discharged twice as fast against the Christians; and so long that the ship was very sore stricken and bruised under water. Which the Turkes perceiving, made the more haste to come aboard the Ship: which ere they could do, many a Turke bought it dearly with the loss of their lives. Yet was all in vain, and boarded they were, where they found so hot a skirmish, that it had been better they had not meddled with the feast. For the Englishmen shewed themselves men indeed, in working manfully with their brown bills and halbards: where the owner, master, boatswain, and their company stood to it so lustily, that the Turkes were half dismayed. But chiefly the boatswain shewed himself valiant above the rest: for he fared amongst the Turkes like a wood Lion: for there was none of them that either could or durst stand in his face, till at the last there came a shot from the Turkes, which broke his whistle asunder, and smote him on the breast; so that he fell down, bidding them farewell, and to be of good comfort, encouraging them likewise to win praise by death, rather than to live captives in misery and shame. Which they hearing, indeed intended to have done, as it appeared by their skirmish: but the press and store of the Turkes was so great, that they were not able long to endure, but were so overpressed, that they could not wield their weapons: by reason whereof, they must needs be taken, which none



The Christians must needs to the galleys

of them intended to have been, but rather to have died: except only the master's mate, who shrunk from the skirmish, like a notable coward, esteeming neither the valour of his name, nor accounting of the present example of his fellows, nor having respect to the miseries whereunto he should be put. But in fine, so it was, that the Turks were victors, whereof they had no great cause to rejoyce or triumph. Then would it have grieved any hard heart to see these Infidels so violently entreating the Christians; not having any respect of their manhood which they had tasted of, nor yet respecting their own state, how they might have met with such a booty as might have given them the overthrow. But no remorse hereof, or anything else, doth bridle their fierce and tyrannous dealing, but that the Christians must needs to the galleys, to serve in new offices: and they were no sooner in them, but their garments were pulled over their ears, and torn from their backs, and they set to the oars.

I will make no mention of their miseries, being now under their enemies' raging stripes. I think there is no man will judge their fare good, or their bodies unladen of stripes, and not pestered with too much heat, and also with too much cold: but I will go to my purpose, which is, to shew the end of those, being in mere misery, which continually do call on God with a steadfast hope that he will deliver them, and with a sure faith that he can do it.

Nigh to the City of Alexandria, being a haven town, and under the dominion of the Turkes, there is a road,¹ being made very fensible with strong walls; whereinto

¹ This roadstead, or dock, was a fortified inner harbour close to the city of Alexandria, containing the prison buildings, and guarded by "holds," or forts.

the Turkes do customably bring their galleys on shore every year, in the winter season, and there do trim them, and lay them up against the spring time. In which road there is a prison, wherein the captives and such prisoners as serve in the galley, are put for all that time, until the seas be calm and passable for the galleys; every prisoner being most grievously laden with irons on their legs, to their great pain, and sore disabling of them to any labour-taking. Into which prison were these Christians put, and fast warded all the Winter season. But ere it was long, the Master and the Owner, by means of friends, were redeemed: the rest abiding still by the misery, while that they were all (through reason of their ill usage and worse fare) miserably starved; saving one John Fox, who (as some men can abide harder and more misery than other some can, so can some likewise make more shift, and work more devices to help their state and living, than other some can do) being somewhat skilful in the craft of a Barber, by reason thereof made great shift in helping his fare now and then with a good meal. Insomuch, till at the last, God sent him favour in the sight of the keeper of the prison; so that he had leave to go in and out to the road, at his pleasure, paying a certain stipend unto the keeper, and wearing a lock about his leg: which liberty likewise, six more had upon like sufferance: who by reason of their long imprisonment, not being feared or suspected to start aside, or that they would work the Turkes any mischief, had liberty to go in and out at the said road, in such manner as this John Fox did, with irons on their legs, and to return again at night.

In the year of our Lord 1577, in the Winter season, the galleys happily coming to their accustomed harbour,

and being discharged of all their masts, sails, and other such furnitures, as unto galleys do appertain, and all the Masters and mariners of them being then nested in their own homes: there remained in the prison of the said road two hundred threescore and eight Christian prisoners, who had been taken by the Turks' force, and were of sixteen sundry nations. Among which there were three Englishmen, whereof one was named John Fox of Woodbridge in Suffolk, the other William Wickney of Portsmouth, in the County of Southhampton, and the third Robert Moore of Harwich in the County of Essex. Which John Fox having been thirteen or fourteen years under their gentle entreatance, and being too, too weary thereof; minding his escape, weighed with himself by what means it might be brought to pass: and continually pondering with himself thereof, took a good heart unto him, in hope that God would not be always scourging his children; and never ceased to pray him to further his pretended enterprise, if that it should redound to his glory.

Not far from the road, and somewhat from thence, at one side of the City, there was a certain victualling house, which one Peter Unticaro had hired, paying also a certain fee unto the keeper of the road. This Peter Unticaro was a Spaniard born, and a Christian, and had been prisoner about thirty years, and never practised any means to escape, but kept himself quiet without touch or suspect of any conspiracy: until that now this John Fox, using much thither, they broke one to another their minds, concerning the restraint of their liberty and imprisonment. So that this John Fox, at length opening unto this Unticaro the device which he would fain put in practice, made privy one more to this their intent. Which three debated

of this matter at such times as they could compass to meet together: insomuch, that at seven weeks' end they had sufficiently concluded how the matter should be, if it pleased God to farther them thereto: who making five more privy to this their device, whom they thought they might safely trust, determined in three nights after to accomplish their deliberate purpose. Whereupon the same John Fox, and Peter Unticaro, and the other six, appointed to meet all together in the prison the next day, being the last day of December: where this John Fox certified the rest of the prisoners what their intent and device was, and how and when they minded to bring their purpose to pass: who thereunto persuaded them without much ado to further their device. Which the same John Fox seeing, delivered unto them a sort of files, which he had gathered together for this purpose, by the means of Peter Unticaro; charging them that every man should be ready discharged of his irons by eight of the clock on the next day, at night.

On the next day at night, this said John Fox, and his six other companions, being all come to the house of Peter Unticaro, passing the time away in mirth for fear of suspect, till the night came on, so that it was time for them to put in practice their device; sent Peter Unticaro to the master of the road, in the name of one of the Masters of the city, with whom this keeper was acquainted, and at whose request he also would come at the first: who desired him to take the pains to meet him there, promising him that he would bring him back again.¹ [The keeper agreed to go with him, willing the warders

¹ Unticaro took a false message to "the keeper" who was "the master of the road," pretending to come from "one of the masters of the city," asking "the keeper" to meet him.

not to bar the gate; saying that he would not stay long, but would come again with all speed.

In the mean season, the other seven had provided them of such weapons, as they could get in that house: and John Fox took him to an old rusty sword blade, without either hilt or pommel, which he made to serve his turn, inbending the hand end of the sword, instead of a pommel; and the others had got such spits and glaives as they found in the house.

The keeper now being come unto the house, and perceiving no light, nor hearing any noise, straightway suspected the matter: and returning backward, John Fox standing behind the corner of the house, stepped forth unto him: who, perceiving it to be John Fox, said, "O Fox, what have I deserved of thee, that thou shouldest seek my death?" "Thou villain (quoth Fox) hast been a bloodsucker of many a Christian's blood, and now thou shalt know what thou hast deserved at my hands." Where-with he lift up his bright shining sword of ten years' rust, and struck him so main a blow, as therewithal his head clave asunder, so that he fell stark dead to the ground. Whereupon Peter Unticaro went in, and certified the rest how the case stood with the keeper: who came presently forth, and some with their spits ran him through, and the others with their glaives hewed him in sunder, cut off his head, and mangled him so, that no man should discern what he was.

Then marched they toward the road, whereinto they entered softly, where were six warders, whom one of them asked, saying, who was there? Quoth Fox and his company, "All friends." Which when they were all within, proved contrary. "For," quoth Fox, "my

masters, here is not to every man a man; wherefore look you play your parts." Who so behaved themselves in deed, that they had dispatched these six quickly. Then John Fox, intending not to be barred of his enterprise, and minding to work surely in that which he went about, barred the gate surely and planted a Cannon against it.

Then entered they into the jailer's lodge, where they found the keys of the fortress and prison by his bedside; and there had they all better weapons. In this chamber was a chest, wherein was a rich treasure, and all in ducats, which this Peter Unticaro, and two more, opening, stuffed themselves so full as they could, between their shirts and their skin: which John Fox would not once touch, and said, that it was his and their liberty which he sought for, to the honour of his God; and not to make a mart of the wicked treasure of the Infidels.

Now these eight being armed with such weapons as they thought well of, thinking themselves sufficient champions to encounter a stronger enemy, and coming unto the prison, Fox opened the gates and doors thereof, and called forth all the prisoners; whom he set, some to ramming up the gate, some to the dressing up of a certain galley, which was the best in all the road, and was called the Captain of Alexandria; whereinto some carried masts, sails, oars, and other such furniture as doth belong unto a galley.

At the prison were certain warders, whom John Fox and his company slew: in the killing of whom, there were eight more of the Turkes, which perceived them, and got them to the top of the prison: unto whom John Fox, and his company, were fain to come by ladders, where they found a hot skirmish. For some of them were

there slain, some wounded, and some but scarred, and not hurt. As John Fox was thrice shot through his apparel, and not hurt; Peter Unticaro, and the other two that had armed them with the ducats, were slain, as not able to wield themselves, being so pestered with the weight and uneasy carrying of the wicked and profane treasure: and also divers Christians were as well hurt about that skirmish, as Turkes slain.

Amongst the Turkes was one thrust through, who (let us not say that it was ill fortune) fell off from the top of the prison wall, and made such a lowing that the inhabitants thereabout (as here and there scattering stood a house or two) came and daved him; so that they understood the case, how that the prisoners were paying their ransoms. Wherewith they raised both Alexandria which lay on the west side of the road, and a Castle which was at the City's end, next to the road, and also another Fortress which lay on the North side of the road. So that now they had no way of escape but one, which by man's reason (the two holds lying so upon the mouth of the road) might seem impossible to be a way for them.

Now is the road fraught with lusty soldiers, labourers, and mariners, who are fain to stand to their tackling, in setting to every man his hand, some to the carrying in of victuals, some munitions, some oars, and some one thing, some another; but most are keeping their enemy from the wall of the road. But to be short, there was no time mis-spent, no man idle, nor any man's labour ill bestowed or in vain. So that in short time, this galley was ready trimmed up. Whereinto every man leaped in all haste, hoisting up the sails lustily, yielding themselves to his mercy and grace, in whose hands are both wind and weather.

Now is this galley on float, and out of the safety of the road: now have the two Castles full power upon the galley: now is there no remedy but to sink: how can it be avoided? The cannons let fly from both sides, and the galley is even in the midst, and between them both. What man can devise to save it? There is no man, but would think it must needs be sunk.

There was not one of them that feared the shot, which went thundering round about their ears, nor yet were once scarred or touched, with five and forty shot, which came from the Castles. Here did God hold forth his buckler; he shieldeth now this galley, and hath tried their faith to the uttermost.

For they sail away, being not once touched with the glance of a shot, and are quickly out of the Turkish cannons' reach. Then might they see them coming down by heaps to the water side, in companies like unto swarms of bees, making show to come after them with galleys; bustling themselves to dress up the galleys, which would be a swift piece of work for them to do, for that they had neither oars, masts, sails, cables, nor anything else ready in any galley. But yet they are carrying them into them, some into one galley, and some into another; so that, being such a confusion amongst them, without any certain guide, it were a thing impossible to overtake them: beside that, there was no man that would take charge of a galley, the weather was so rough, and there was such an amazedness amongst them.

When the Christians were safe out of the enemies' coast, John Fox called to them all, willing them to be thankful unto almighty God for their delivery, and most humbly to fall down upon their knees; beseeching him to aid

them unto their friends' land, and not to bring them into another danger, since he had most mightily delivered them from so great a thralldom and bondage.

Thus when every man had made his petition, they fell straightway to their labour with the oars; in helping one another, when they were wearied, and with great labour striving to come to some Christian land, as near as they could guess by the stars. But the winds were so diverse, one while driving them this way, another while that way, that they were now in a new maze, thinking that God had forsaken them, and left them to a greater danger. And forasmuch as there were no victuals now left in the galley, it might have been a cause to them (if they had been the Israelites) to have murmured against their God.

Having (I say) no victuals in the galley, it might seem that one misery continually fell upon another's neck: but to be brief, the famine grew to be so great, that in 28 days, wherein they were on the sea, there died eight persons, to the astonishment of all the rest.

So it fell out, that upon the 29 day, after they set from Alexandria, they fell on the Isle of Candie, and landed at Gallipoli, where they were made much of by the Abbot and Monks there, who caused them to stay there, while they were well refreshed and eased. They kept there the sword, wherewith John Fox had killed the keeper, esteeming it as a most precious jewel, and hung it up for a monument.

When they thought good, having leave to depart from thence, they sailed along the coast, till they arrived at Tarento, where they sold their galley, and divided it, every man having a part thereof. The Turkes, receiving so shameful a foil at their hand, pursued the Christians,

and scoured the seas, where they could imagine that they had bent their course. And the Christians had departed from thence on the one day in the morning, and seven galleys of the Turkes came thither that night; as it was certified by those who followed Fox and his company, fearing lest they should have been met with. And then they came a-foot to Naples, where they departed asunder, every man taking him to his next way home. From whence John Fox took his journey unto Rome, where he was well entertained of an Englishman, who presented his worthy deed unto the Pope; who rewarded him liberally, and gave him his letters unto the King of Spaine, where he was very well entertained of him there, who for this his most worthy enterprise gave him in fee twenty pence a day. From whence, being desirous to come into his own country, he came thither at such time as he conveniently could, which was in the year of our Lord God, 1579. Who, being come into England, went unto the Court, and shewed all his travail unto the Council: who, considering of the state of this man, in that he had spent and lost a great part of his youth in thralldom and bondage, extended to him their liberality, to help to maintain him now in age; to their right honour, and to the encouragement of all true hearted Christians.

THE ESCAPE OF THE "PRIMROSE"

It is not unknown unto the world what danger our English ships have lately escaped, how sharply they have been entreated, and how hardly they have been assaulted: so that the valiance of those that managed them is worthy

remembrance. And therefore in respect of the courageous attempt and valiant enterprise of the ship called the Primrose of London, which hath obtained renown, I have taken in hand to publish the truth thereof; to the intent that it may be generally known to the rest of the English ships, that by the good example of this, the rest may in time of extremity adventure to do the like: to the honour of the Realm, and the perpetual remembrance of themselves. The manner whereof was as followeth.

Upon Wednesday, being the six and twentieth day of May 1585, the ship called the Primrose being of one hundred and fifty tons, lying without the Bay of Bilbao, having been there two days, there came a Spanish pinnace to them, wherein was the Corrigidor ¹ and six others with him. These came aboard the Primrose, seeming to be Merchants of Biscay, or such like, bringing cherries with them, and spake very friendly to the Master of the ship, whose name was Foster; and he in courteous wise bade them welcome, making them the best cheer that he could with beer, beef, and biscuit, wherewith that ship was well furnished. And while they were thus in banqueting with the Master, four of the seven departed in the said Pinnace, and went back again to Bilbao: the other three stayed, and were very pleasant for the time. But Master Foster, misdoubting some danger, secretly gave speech that he was doubtful of these men what their intent was: nevertheless he said nothing, nor seemed in any outward wise to mistrust them at all. Forthwith there came a ship-boat wherein were seventy persons, being Merchants and such-like of Biscay: and besides this boat, there came also the Pinnace which before had

¹ The chief magistrate of the Province of Biscay.

brought the other three, in which Pinnace there came four and twenty, as the Spaniards themselves since confessed. These made towards the Primrose, and being come thither, there came aboard the Corrigidor with three or four of his men: but Master Foster seeing this great multitude, desired that there might no more come aboard, but that the rest should stay in their boats, which was granted. Nevertheless they took small heed of these words; for on a sudden they came forth of the boat, entering the ship, every Spaniard taking him to his Rapier which they brought in the boat, with other weapons, and a drum wherewith to triumph over them. Thus did the Spaniards enter the ship, plunging in fiercely upon them, some planting themselves under the deck, some entering the Cabins, and a multitude attending their prey. Then the Corrigidor having an officer with him which bare a white wand in his hand, said to the Master of the ship: "Yield yourself, for you are the King's prisoner": whereat the Master said to his men, "We are betrayed." Then some of them set daggers to his breast, and seemed in furious manner as though they would have slain him; meaning nothing less than to do any such act, for all that they sought was to bring him and his men safe alive to shore. Whereat the Master was amazed, and his men greatly discomfited to see themselves ready to be conveyed even to the slaughter: notwithstanding some of them respecting the danger of the Master, and seeing how with themselves there was no way but present death if they were once landed among the Spaniards, they resolved themselves either to defend the Master, and generally to shun that danger, or else to die and be buried in the midst of the sea, rather than to suffer themselves

to come into the tormentors' hands. And therefore, in very bold and manly sort, some took them to their javelins, lances, boar-spears, and shot, which they had set in readiness before; and having five Calivers ready charged, which was all the small shot they had, those that were under the hatches or the grate did shoot up at the Spaniards that were over their heads; which shot so amazed the Spaniards on the sudden, as they could hardly tell which way to escape the danger, fearing this their small shot to be of greater number than it was: others in very manlike sort dealt about among them, showing themselves of that courage with boar-spears and lances, that they dismayed at every stroke two or three Spaniards. Then some of them desired the Master to command his men to cease and hold their hands; but he answered that such was the courage of the English Nation in defence of their own lives, that they would slay them and him also: and therefore it lay not in him to do it. Many of them [were] very sore wounded, so that they came not so fast in on the one side, but now they tumbled as fast overboard on both sides, with their weapons in their hands; some falling into the sea, and some getting into their boats, making haste towards the City. And this is to be noted, that although they came very thick thither, there returned but a small company of them; neither is it known as yet how many of them were slain or drowned: only one Englishman was then slain, whose name was John Tristram, and six other hurt. It was great pity to behold how the Spaniards lay swimming in the sea, and were not able to save their lives. Four of them taking hold of the ship, were for pity's sake taken up again by Master Foster and his men, not knowing what they

were: all the Spaniards' bosoms were stuffed with paper, to defend them from the shot, and these four having some wounds were dressed by the surgeon of the ship. One of them was the Corrigidor himself, who is governor of a hundred Towns and Cities in Spain, his living by his office being better than six hundred pound yearly. This skirmish happened in the evening about six of the clock, after they had laden twenty ton of goods and better, out of the said ship: which goods were delivered by two of the same ship, whose names were John Burrell and John Brodbanke, who being on shore were apprehended and stayed.

After this valiant enterprise of eight and twenty Englishmen against 97 Spaniards, they saw it was in vain for them to stay; and therefore set up sail, and by God's providence avoided all danger, brought home the rest of their goods, and came thence with all expedition: and (God be thanked) arrived safely in England, near London on Wednesday being the 8 day of June, 1585. In which their return to England the Spaniards that they brought with them offered five hundred crowns to be set on shore in any place: which, seeing the Master would not do, they were content to be ruled by him and his company, and craved mercy at their hands. And after Master Foster demanded why they came in such sort to betray and destroy them, the Corrigidor answered, that it was not done only of themselves, but by the commandment of the King himself; and calling for his hose which were wet, did pluck forth the King's Commission, by which he was authorised to do all that he did.

FIVE SHIPS OF LONDON GO INTO ACTION

THE Merchants of London being of the incorporation of the Turkey trade, having received intelligences and advertisements from time to time, that the King of Spaine, grudging at the prosperity of this kingdom, had not only of late arrested all English ships, bodies, and goods, in Spaine, but also maligning the quiet traffic which they used, to and in the dominions and provinces, under the obedience of the Great Turke, had given order to the Captains of his galleys in the Levant, to hinder the passage of all English ships; and to endeavour by their best means, to intercept, take, and spoil them, their persons, and goods: they hereupon thought it their best course to set out their fleet for Turkie, in such strength and ability for their defence, that the purpose of their Spanish enemy might the better be prevented, and the voyage accomplished with greater security to the men and ships. For which cause, five tall and stout ships, appertaining to London, and intending only a Merchant's voyage, were provided and furnished with all things belonging to the Seas; the names whereof were these:

1. The Merchant Royal, a very brave and good ship, and of great report.
2. The Tobie.
3. The Edward Bonaventure.
4. The William and John.
5. The Susan.

These five, departing from the coast of England in the month of November 1585, kept together as one fleet, till

they came as high as the Isle of Sicily, within the Levant. And there, according to the order and direction of the voyage, each ship began to take leave of the rest, and to separate himself, setting his course for the particular port, whereunto he was bound: one for Tripolie in Syria, another for Constantinople, the chief City of the Turkes' Empire, situated upon the coast of Romania, called of old, Thracia; and the rest to those places, whereunto they were privately appointed. But before they divided themselves, they all together consulted, of and about a certain and special place for their meeting again after the lading of their goods at their several ports. And in conclusion, the general agreement was to meet at Zante, an island near to the main continent of the West part of Morea, well known of all the Pilots, and thought to be the fittest place of their Rendezvous. Concerning which meeting, it was also covenanted on each side, and promised; that whatsoever ship of these 5 should first arrive at Zante, should there stay and expect the coming of the rest of the fleet, for the space of twenty days. This being done, each man made his best haste according as wind and weather would serve him to fulfil his course, and to dispatch his business; and no need was there to admonish or encourage any man, seeing no time was ill spent, nor opportunity omitted on any side, in the performance of each man's duty, according to his place.

It fell out that the Tobie, which was bound for Constantinople, had made such good speed, and gotten such good weather, that she first of all the rest came back to the appointed place of Zante; and not forgetting the former conclusion, did there cast anchor, attending the arrival of the rest of the fleet; which accordingly (their

business first performed) failed not to keep promise. The first next after the Tobie was the Royal Merchant, which together with the William and John came from Tripolie in Syria, and arrived at Zante within the compass of the foresaid time limited. These ships in token of the joy on all parts conceived for their happy meeting, spared not the discharging of their Ordnance, the sounding of drums and trumpets, the spreading of Ensigns with other warlike and joyful behaviours, expressing by these outward signs, the inward gladness of their minds; being all as ready to join together in mutual consent to resist the cruel enemy, as now in sporting manner they made mirth and pastime among themselves. These three had not been long in the haven, but the Edward Bonaventure also, together with the Susan her consort, were come from Venice with their lading; the sight of whom increased the joy of the rest, and they no less glad of the presence of the others, saluted them in most friendly and kind sort, according to the manner of the Seas: and whereas some of these ships stood at that instant in some want of victuals, they were all content to stay in the port, till the necessities of each ship were supplied, and nothing wanted to set out for their return.

In this port of Zante, the news was fresh and current, of two several armies and fleets provided by the King of Spaine, and lying in wait to intercept them: the one consisting of 30 strong Galleys, so well appointed in all respects for the war, that no necessary thing wanted: and this fleet hovered about the Straits of Gibraltar. The other army had in it 20 Galleys, whereof some were of Sicily, and some of the Island of Malta; under the charge and government of John Andrea Dorea, a Cap-

tain of name, serving the King of Spaine. These two divers and strong fleets waited and attended in the Seas for none but the English ships, and no doubt made their account and sure reckoning that not a ship should escape their fury. And the opinion also of the inhabitants of the Isle of Zante was, that in respect of the number of Galleys in both these armies, having received such straight commandment from the King; our ships and men being but few, and little in comparison of them, it was a thing in human reason impossible, that we should pass either without spoiling, if we resisted, or without composition at the least, and acknowledgment of duty to the Spanish King.

But it was neither the report of the attendance of these armies, nor the opinions of the people, nor anything else, that could daunt or dismay the courages of our men; who, grounding themselves upon the goodness of their cause, and the promise of God to be delivered from such as without reason sought their destruction, carried resolute minds, notwithstanding all impediments to adventure through the Seas, and to finish their Navigation, maugre the beards of the Spanish soldiers. But lest they should seem too careless, and too secure of their estate; and by laying the whole and entire burden of their safety upon God's providence, should foolishly presume altogether of His help, and neglect the means which was put into their hands; they failed not to enter into counsel among themselves, and to deliberate advisedly for their best defence. And in the end with general consent, the Merchant Royal was appointed Admiral of the fleet, and the Tobie Vice-admiral; by whose orders the rest promised to be directed: and each ship vowed not to break from

another, whatsoever extremity should fall out, but to stand to it to the death, for the honour of their Country, and the frustrating of the hope of the ambitious and proud enemy.

Thus in good order they left Zante and the Castle of Græcia, and committed themselves again to the Seas; and proceeded in their course and voyage in quietness, without sight of any enemy, till they came near to Pantellaria, an Island so called, betwixt Sicily, and the coast of Africa: into sight whereof they came the 13 day of July 1586. And the same day in the morning about 7 of the clock, they descried 13 sails in number, which were of the Galleys, lying in wait of purpose for them, in and about that place. As soon as the English ships had spied them, they by and by according to a common order, made themselves ready for a fight; laid out their Ordnance, scoured, charged, and primed them, displayed their ensigns, and left nothing undone to arm themselves thoroughly. In the meantime, the Galleys more and more approached the ships, and in their banners there appeared the arms of the Isles of Sicily, and Malta, being all as then in the service and pay of the Spaniard. Immediately, both the Admirals of the Galleys sent from each of them a frigate, to the Admiral of our English ships; which being come near them, the Sicilian frigate first hailed them, and demanded of them whence they were? They answered that they were of England, the arms whereof appeared in their colours. Whereupon the said frigate expostulated with them, and asked why they delayed to send or come with their Captains and pursers to Don Pedro de Leiva their General, to acknowledge their duty and obedience to him in the name of the Spanish

King, Lord of those seas? Our men replied, and said, that they owed no such duty nor obedience to him, and therefore would acknowledge none; but commanded the frigate to depart with that answer, and not to stay longer a-brabbling, upon her peril. With that away she went, and up comes toward them the other frigate of Malta; and she in like sort hailed the Admiral, and would needs know whence they were, and where they had been. Our Englishmen in the Admiral, not disdaining an answer, told them that they were of England, Merchants of London, had been at Turkie, and were now returning home: and to be requited in this case, they also demanded of the frigate whence she and the rest of the galleys were. The messenger answered, "We are of Malta, and for mine own part my name is Cavallero. These Galleys are in service and pay to the King of Spaine, under the conduct of Don Pedro de Leiva, a nobleman of Spaine, who hath been commanded hither by the King with this present force and army, of purpose to intercept you. You shall therefore (quoth he) do well to repair to him to know his pleasure; he is a nobleman of good behaviour and courtesy, and means you no ill." The Captain of the English Admiral, whose name was M. Edward Wilkinson, replied and said: "We purpose not at this time to make trial of Don Pedro his courtesy, whereof we are suspicious and doubtful, and not without good cause:" using withal good words to the messenger, and willing him to come aboard him, promising security and good usage, that thereby he might the better know the Spaniard's mind. Whereupon he indeed left his frigate, and came aboard him, whom he entertained in friendly sort, and caused a cup of wine to be drawn for him; which

he took, and began, with his cap in his hand, and with reverend terms, to drink to the health of the Queen of England, speaking very honourably of her Majesty, and giving good speeches of the courteous usage and entertainment that he himself had received in London.

And after he had well drunk, he took his leave, speaking well of the sufficiency and goodness of our ships, and especially of the Merchant Royal, which he confessed to have seen before, riding in the Thames near London. He was no sooner come to Don Pedro de Leiva the Spanish General, but he was sent off again, and returned to the English Admiral, saying that the pleasure of the General was this; that either their Captains, Masters and Pursers should come to him with speed, or else he would set upon them, and either take them or sink them. The reply was made by M. Wilkinson aforesaid, that not a man should come to him: and for the brag and threat of Don Pedro, it was not that Spanish bravado that should make them yield a jot to their hindrance; but they were as ready to make resistance, as he to offer an injury. Whereupon Cavallero the messenger left bragging, and began to persuade them in quiet sort, and with many words; but all his labour was to no purpose, and as his threat did nothing terrify them, so his persuasion did nothing move them to do that which he required. At the last he entreated to have the Merchant of the Admiral carried by him as a messenger to the General, that so he might be satisfied, and assured of their minds by one of their own company. But M. Wilkinson would agree to no such thing, although Richard Rowit the merchant himself seemed willing to be employed in that message; and laboured by reasonable per-

suasions to induce M. Wilkinson to grant it, as hoping to be an occasion, by his presence and discreet answers, to satisfy the General, and thereby to save the effusion of Christian blood, if it should grow to a battle. And he seemed so much the more willing to be sent, by how much deeper the oaths and protestations of this Cavallero were, that he would (as he was a true knight and a soldier) deliver him back again in safety to his company. Albeit, M. Wilkinson, which by his long experience had received sufficient trial of Spanish inconstancy and perjury, wished him in no case to put his life and liberty in hazard upon a Spaniard's oath. But at last, upon much entreaty, he yielded to let him go to the General; thinking indeed, that good speeches and answers of reason would have contented him, whereas otherwise refusal to do so, might peradventure have provoked the more discontentment.

M. Rowit therefore passing to the Spanish General, the rest of the Gallies having espied him, thought indeed that the English were rather determined to yield, than to fight, and therefore came flocking about the frigate, every man crying out, "What news, what news? Have these Englishmen yielded?" The frigate answered, "Not so, they neither have, nor purpose to yield, only they have sent a man of their company to speak with our General." And being come to the Galley wherein he was, he shewed himself to M. Rowit in his armour, his guard of soldiers attending upon him in armour also, and began to speak very proudly in this sort: "Thou Englishman, from whence is your fleet? Why stand ye aloof off? Know ye not your duty to the Catholic King, whose person I here represent? Where are your bills of lading, your

letters, passports, and the chief of your men? Think ye my attendance in these seas to be in vain, or my person to no purpose? Let all these things be done out of hand as I command, upon pain of my further displeasure and the spoil of you all." These words of the Spanish General were not so outrageously pronounced as they were mildly answered by M. Rowit, who told him that they were all Merchantmen, using traffic in honest sort, and seeking to pass quietly, if they were not urged further than reason. As for the King of Spaine, he thought (for his part) that there was amity betwixt him and his sovereign the Queen of England, so that neither he nor his officers should go about to offer any such injury to English Merchants; who as they were far from giving offence to any man, so they would be loath to take an abuse at the hands of any, or sit down to their loss, where their ability was able to make defence. And as touching his commandment aforesaid, for the acknowledging of duty in such particular sort; he told him, that where there was no duty owing, there none should be performed, assuring him that their whole company and ships in general, stood resolutely upon the negative, and would not yield to any such unreasonable demand, joined with such imperious and absolute manner of commanding. "Why then," said he, "if they will neither come to yield, nor shew obedience to me in the name of my King, I will either sink them or bring them to harbour, and so tell them from me." With that the frigate came away with M. Rowit, and brought him aboard the English Admiral again, according to promise: who was no sooner entered in, but by and by defiance was sounded on both sides. The Spaniards hewed off the noses of the Galleys, that nothing

might hinder the level of the shot, and the English on the other side courageously prepared themselves to the combat, every man according to his room, bent to perform his office with alacrity and diligence. In the meantime a Cannon was discharged from the Admiral of the galleys, which being the onset of the fight, was presently answered by the English Admiral with a Culverin. So the skirmish began, and grew hot and terrible, there was no powder nor shot spared: each English ship matched itself in good order against two Spanish Galleys, besides the inequality of the frigates on the Spaniards' side: and although our men performed their parts with singular valour, according to their strength, insomuch that the enemy as amazed therewith would oftentimes pause and stay, and consult what was best to be done, yet they ceased not in the midst of their business to make prayer to Almighty God. Thus with blows and prayers on both sides, the fight continued furious and sharp, and doubtful a long time to which part the victory would incline: till at the last the Admiral of the Galleys of Sicily began to warp from the fight, and to hold up her side for fear of sinking; and after her went also two others in like case, whom all the sort of them enclosed, labouring by all their means to keep them above water, being ready by the force of English shot which they had received to perish in the seas. And what slaughter was done among the Spaniards themselves, the English were uncertain; but by a probable conjecture apparent afar off, they supposed their loss was so great, that they wanted men to continue the charging of their pieces: whereupon with shame and dishonour, after 5 hours spent in the battle, they withdrew themselves. And the English, contented in respect of their deep lading rather

to continue their voyage than to follow the chase, ceased from further blows, with the loss only of two men slain amongst them all, and another hurt in his arm; whom M. Wilkinson with his good words and friendly promises did so comfort, that he nothing esteemed the smart of his wound in respect of the honour of the victory, and the shameful repulse of the enemy.

Thus with dutiful thanks to the mercy of God for His gracious assistance in that danger, the English ships proceeded in their Navigation; and coming as high as Algier, a port town upon the coast of Barbary, they fell with it, of purpose to refresh themselves after their weariness, and to take in such supply of fresh water and victuals, as they needed.

The English having received all things that they wanted, or could crave for the furnishing of their ships, took their leave, and put out to Sea; looking to meet with the second army of the Spanish King, which waited for them about the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar, which they were of necessity to pass. But coming near to the said Strait, it pleased God to raise at that instant a very dark and misty fog, so that one ship could not discern another, if it were 40 paces off: by means whereof, together with the notable fair Eastern winds that then blew most fit for their course, they passed with great speed through the Strait; and might have passed with that good gale, had there been 500 Galleys to withstand them, and the air never so clear for every ship to be seen. But yet the Spanish Galleys had a sight of them when they were come within 3 English miles of the town, and made after them in all possible haste; and although they saw that they were far out of their reach, yet in a vain

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fury and foolish pride, they shot off their Ordnance, and made a stir in the Sea as if they had been in the midst of them; which vanity of theirs ministered to our men notable matter of pleasure and mirth, seeing men to fight with shadows, and to take so great pains to so small purpose.

But thus it pleased God to deride, and delude all the forces of that proud Spanish King, which he had provided of purpose to distress the English; who notwithstanding passed through both his Armies, in the one, little hurt, and in the other nothing touched, to the glory of His immortal Name, the honour of our Prince and Country, and the just commendation of each man's service performed in that voyage.



THE FIGHT OF THE "CENTURION"

IN the month of November 1590, there were sundry ships appertaining to several Merchants of London, which were rigged and fraught forth with merchandise, for sundry places within the Strait of Gibraltar: who, together having wind and weather, which oft-time fell out very uncertain, arrived safely in short space, at such places as they desired. Among whom was the Centurion of London, a very tall ship of burden, yet but weakly manned, as appeareth by this discourse following.

This aforesaid ship called The Centurion safely arrived at Marseilles; where after they had delivered their goods, they stayed about the space of five weeks, and better; and then took in lading, intending to return to England.

Now when the Centurion was ready to come away from Marseilles, there were sundry other ships of smaller burden which entreated the Master thereof (whose name is Robert Bradshaw, dwelling at Limehouse) to stay a day or two for them, until they were in a readiness to depart with them; thereby persuading them, that it would be far better for them to stay, and go together in respect of their assistance, than to depart of themselves without company, and so happily for want of aid fall into the hands of their enemies in the Spanish Galleys. Upon which reasonable persuasion, notwithstanding that this ship was of such sufficiency as they might hazard her in the danger of the Sea, yet they stayed for those little ships, according to their request; who together did put to Sea from Marseilles, and vowed in general not to fly one from another, if they should happen to meet with any Spanish Galleys.

These small ships, accompanied with the Centurion, sailing along the coast of Spaine, were upon Easter day in the Strait of Gibraltar suddenly becalmed; where immediately they saw sundry Galleys make towards them, in very valiant and courageous sort: the chief Leaders and soldiers in those Galleys bravely apparelled in silk coats, with their silver whistles about their necks, and great plumes of feathers in their hats, who with their Calivers shot at the Centurion so fast as they might: so that by 10 of the clock and somewhat before, they had boarded the Centurion; who before their coming had prepared for them, and intended to give them so sour a welcome as they might. And thereupon, having prepared their close fights, and all things in a readiness, they called upon God, on whom only they trusted: and having made their prayers, and cheered up one another to fight so long as life endured, they began to discharge their great Ordnance upon the Galleys; but the little ships durst not come forward, but lay aloof, while five Galleys had boarded them, yea and with their grappling irons made their Galleys fast to the said ship called the Centurion.

The Galleys were grappled to the Centurion in this manner; two lay on one side, and two on another, and the Admiral lay full in the stern, which galled and battered the Centurion so sore, that her main-mast was greatly weakened, her sails filled with many holes, and the mizzen and stern made almost unserviceable.

During which time there was a sore and deadly fight on both sides, in which the Trumpet of the Centurion sounded forth the deadly points of war, and encouraged them to fight manfully against their adversaries: on the contrary part, there was no warlike Music in the Spanish

Galleys, but only their whistles of silver, which they sounded forth to their own contentment. In which fight many a Spaniard was turned into the Sea, and they in multitudes came crawling and hung upon the side of the ship, intending to have entered into the same; but such was the courage of the Englishmen, that so fast as the Spaniards did come to enter, they gave them such entertainment, that some of them were glad to tumble alive into the Sea, being remediless for ever to get up alive. In the Centurion there were in all, of men and boys, forty and eight, who together fought most valiantly, and so galled the enemy, that many a brave and lusty Spaniard lost his life in that place.

The Centurion was fired five several times, with wild fire and other provision, which the Spaniards threw in for that purpose: yet, God be thanked, by the great and diligent foresight of the Master it did no harm at all.

In every of the Galleys there were about 200 soldiers: who together with the shot, spoiled, rent, and battered the Centurion very sore; shot through her main-mast, and slew 4 of the men in the said ship, the one of them being the Master's mate.

Ten other persons were hurt, by means of splinters which the Spaniards shot: yea, in the end when their provision was almost spent, they were constrained to shoot at them hammers, and the chains from their slaves, and yet God be thanked, they received no more damage: but by spoiling and overwearying of the Spaniards, the Englishmen constrained them to ungrapple themselves, and get them going: and sure if there had been any other fresh ship or succour to have relieved and assisted the

Centurion, they had slain, sunk, or taken all those Galleys and their soldiers.

The Dolphin lay aloof off and durst not come near, while the other two small ships fled away; so that one of the Galleys went from the Centurion and set upon the Dolphin, which ship immediately was set on fire with their own powder, whereby both men and ship perished: but whether it was with their good wills or no, that was not known unto the Centurion; but sure, if it had come forward, and been an aid unto the Centurion, it is to be supposed that it had not perished.

Five hours and a half this fight continued, in which time both were glad to depart only to breath themselves; but when the Spaniards were gone, they never durst return to fight: yet the next day six other Galleys came and looked at them, but durst not at any hand meddle with them.

Thus God delivered them from the hands of their enemies, and gave them the victory: for which they heartily praised Him, and not long after safely arrived in London.

V. THE GUINEA COAST

GEORGE FENNER DEFIES THE PORTUGUESE

The Guinea Coast of West Africa was claimed entirely by the Portuguese; and the adventures of George Fenner and his men show how dangerous it was to dispute this claim. They sailed from Plymouth in December 1566 with three ships—the Admiral called the “Castle of Comfort,” the “May Flower” and the “George”—and reached the coast near Cape Verde by the middle of January.

PASSING along this coast we might see two small round hills, seeming to us about a league one from the other, which is the Cape; and between them are great store of trees, and in all our days' sailing we saw no land so high as the said two hills.

The 19 day we came to an anchor at the Cape, in a road fast by the Westernmost side of two hills, in 10 fathom of water where you may ride in five or six fathom, for the ground is fair, and always you shall have the wind off the shore. And as soon as we were all at an anchor, our General came aboard us, and with him the master of the Admiral, whose name was William Bats; and with them the captain of the Vice-Admiral, whose name was Master Edward Fenner, and Robert Curtise the master, and dined aboard of us being in the George, wherein was Captain John Heiwood, and John Smith of Hampton, master; and there we concluded to go aland, which was half a mile from us. And by the counsel of William Bats, both Captain and merchants and divers of the company went without armour: for he said, that although the people were black and naked, yet they were civil: so that he would needs give the venture without the

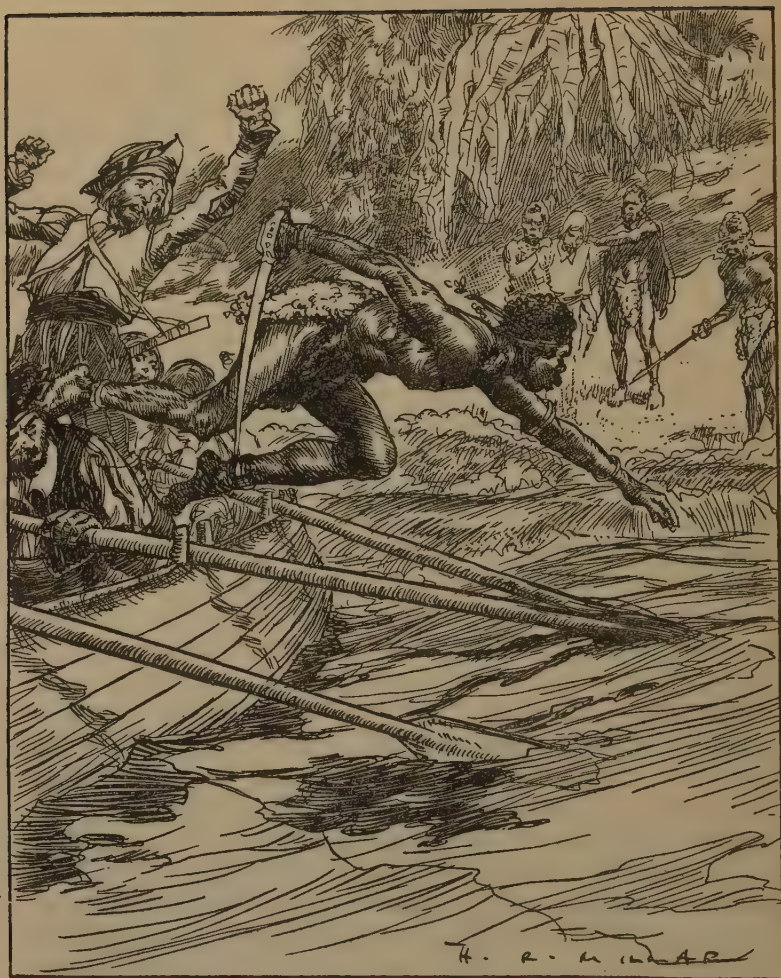
consent of the rest to go without weapon. Thus they rowed to shore, where, we being in the ship might see a great company of Negroes naked, walking to and fro by the sea-side where the landing-place was, waiting for the coming of our men; who came too soon, and landed to their loss as it fell out afterwards.

At their coming to the shore there were 100 Negroes or upward, with their bows and arrows: our Captains and merchants talked with them, and according to the use of the country, the one demanded pledges of the other; and they were content to deliver 3 of their Negroes for 5 of our men. Our 5 men's names were these, John Haward, Wil. Bats, Nich. Day, Joh. Tomson, and John Curtise: these were delivered them, and we received 3 Negroes into our Admiral's skiff.

Our men being ashore among the Negroes, began to talk with them, declaring what ware and merchandise we had; as woollen cloth, linen cloth, iron, cheese and other things. The Negroes answered again, they had civet, musk, gold and grains, which pleased our captains and merchants very well. Then the Negroes desired to have a sight of some of our wares, to the which our merchants were content, and forthwith sent aboard one of the boats for part of their merchandise; and in the meantime while the boat went to the ship, our five men were walking on the shore with the Negroes, and our General and merchants stayed in the other boat by the sea-side, having the 3 Negroes with them.

Our boat then came again and brought iron and other merchandise, with bread, wine, and cheese which they gave unto them. Then two of the Negroes (which were the pledges) made themselves sick, desiring to go ashore,

promising to send other two for them. Captain Haiward perceiving that our men had let the Negroes come ashore, asked what they meant; and doubting the worst began to draw toward the boat, and two or three of the Negroes followed him. And when he came to the boat they began to stay him, and he made signs unto them that he would fetch them more drink and bread: notwithstanding, when he was entering into the boat, one of them caught him by the breeches and would have stayed him, but he sprang from him and leapt into the boat; and as soon as he was in, one of the Negroes ashore began to blow a pipe, and presently the other Negro that was in our boat sitting on the boat's side, and Master Worme's sword by him, suddenly drew the sword out of the scabbard, and cast himself into the Sea and swam ashore. And presently the Negroes laid hands on our men that were on shore, and took three of them with great violence, and tore all their apparel from their backs and left them nothing to cover them; and many of them shot so thick at our men in our boats, that they could scarce set hand to any oar to row from the shore, yet (by the help of God) they got from them with their boats, although many of them were hurt with their poisoned arrows. And the poison is incurable, if the arrow enter within the skin and draw blood; and except the poison be presently sucked out, or the place where any man is hurt be forthwith cut away, he dieth within four days; and within three hours after they be hurt or pricked, where-soever it be, although but at the little toe, yet it striketh up to the heart, and taketh away the stomach, and causeth the party marvellously to vomit, being able to brook neither meat nor drink.



Drew the sword out of the scabbard, and cast himself into the sea

The Negroes having used our men with such cruelty, whose names were Nicholas Day, William Bats and John Tomson, led them away to a town which was within a mile of the water side, or thereabout.

The 20 day we sent to land a boat or skiff wherein were eight persons; and one of them was the foresaid John Tomson, and our interpreter, which was a Frenchman (for there was one of the Negroes which spake good French): and they carried with them two arquebusses, two targets and a mantel.

The cause of sending them was to learn what ransom they demanded for Bats and Day whom they detained. And when they came to the shore and told the Negroes what they desired, they went and fetched them from among the trees, and brought them loose among forty or fifty of them. And being come within a stone's cast of the sea-side, William Bats brake from them, and ran as fast he could into the sea towards the boat; and he was not so soon in the water but he fell down, either being out of breath, or his foot failing him in the sand, being soft: so that the Negroes came and fell on him and took him and haled him, that we thought they had torn him in pieces, for they tore again all the apparel from his back: so that some of them carried our men again to the town, and the rest shot at us with their poisoned arrows, and hurt one of our men called Androwes in the small of the leg; who being come aboard (for all that our Surgeons could do) we thought he would have died.

Our General (notwithstanding all this villainy) sent again to them, and offered them anything that they desired for the ransom of our men, but they would not deliver them: giving us this answer: That there was in

the foresaid road, three weeks before we came, an English ship which had taken three of their people; and until we did bring or send them again, we should not have our men although we would give our three ships with their furniture.

The 21 day, a French ship of the burden of 80 tons (or thereabouts) came to the place where we were, being bound to traffic at the Cape. We told them of the detaining of our two men by the Negroes: and seeing that these Frenchmen were very well welcome to the Negroes, we wished them to see whether they could procure them again of the Negroes, and bring them along with them; and our General promised the Frenchmen £100 to obtain them. So we committed the matter to the Frenchmen, and departed.

Of our men that were hurt by the Negroes' arrows, four died, and one to save his life had his arm cut off. Androwes that was last of all hurt, lay lame not able to help himself: only two recovered of their hurts. So we placed other men in the rooms of those that we lost, and set sail.

They return, sailing up the coast of Africa, and reach Maio, one of the Cape Verde Islands, on February 3rd.

We anchored in the North-west side of the said Isle in a fair Bay of eight fathom water and fair sand; but here we stayed not, but the fourth day weighed and sailed to another Island called St. Iago, which lieth off the said Island of Maio East and by South, and about five leagues one from the other. Being come within the Westernmost point, we saw a fair road, and a small town by the water side, and also a fort or platform by it: there

we purposed to come to anchor, and our merchants to make some sale. But before we came within their shot, they let fly at us two pieces; whereupon we went roomer and sailed along the shore two or three leagues from the road; where we found a small Bay and two or three small houses, where we came to an anchor in 14 fathom fair ground.

Within an hour after we had anchored we might see divers horsemen and footmen on the land right against us, riding and running to and fro.

The next day being the fifth of February, a great company of their horsemen and footmen appeared on the shore side; unto whom our General sent to understand whether they would quietly traffic with them. And they sent him word again, desiring that they might speak with him; promising that if he came to traffic as a merchant he should be welcome, and also that he should have anything that he or the merchant would with reason demand.

When this answer was brought unto our General he was very glad thereof and the whole company, and presently (with as much speed as he could) he caused his boats to be made ready: but doubting the villainy of the Portugales, he armed his boats, putting a double base in the head of his pinnace, and two single bases in the head of the Skiff; and so sent to the May Flower and the George, and willed them in like sort to man their two boats.

These boats being thus manned and well appointed, our General entered into his Skiff, and with the rest rowed to the shore, where were threescore horsemen or more, and two hundred footmen ready to receive them.

Our General marvelled that they came in so great a number and all armed, and therefore with a flag of truce sent to them to know their pleasure: and they answered him with many fair promises and oaths, that their pretence was all true, and that they meant like Gentlemen and Merchants to traffic with him; declaring also that their Captain was coming to speak with him, and therefore desired our General to come and speak with him himself.

With this answer the boat returned, and then our General caused his pinnace to row them; and as he came near the shore they came in a great company with much obeisance, opening their hands and arms abroad, bowing themselves with their bonnets off, with as much humble salutations outwardly as they might: earnestly desiring our General and Merchants to come on land to them, whereunto he would not agree without sufficient gages of Gentlemen and Merchants. At length they promised to send two gages to our General's contentment; promising fresh water, victual, money, or Negroes for ware, if it were such as they liked: and therefore desired our General and Merchants to send them ashore in writing the quantity of their wares, and the names of them: all which our General departed to perform, looking for their answer the morrow following. And being gone a little from the shore, he caused his bases, curriers, and arquebusses to be shot off; and our ships in like case shot off five or six pieces of great ordnance, and so came aboard to prepare the note. The Portugales most of them departed, saving those that were left to watch and to receive the note; which about four or five o'clock in the afternoon was sent, and it was received. But all the

purposes of the Portugales were villainously to betray us (as shall appear hereafter) although we meant in truth and honesty, friendly to traffic with them.

There was to the Westwards of us, and about two leagues from us, a town behind a point fast by the sea-side, where they had certain Caravels, or ships, and also two Brigandines; whereof they (with all the speed that they might) made ready four Caravels, and both the Brigandines, which were like two Galleys, and furnished them both with men and ordnance as much as they could carry; and as soon as it was night, they came rowing and falling towards us: so that the land being high and weather somewhat cloudy or misty, and they coming all the way close under the shore, we could not see them till they were right against one of our ships called the May Flower.

By this time it was about one or two of the clock in the morning; and the May Flower rode nearer them than the other two by a base shot, so that they made a sure account either to have taken her or burnt her. In the meantime our men that had the watch (little thinking of such villainous treacheries after so many fair words) were singing and playing one with the other; and made such a noise, that (being but a small gale of wind, and riding near the land) they might hear us from the shore. So that we supposed that they made account that we had espied them, which indeed we had not; neither had any one piece of ordnance primed, or any other thing in a readiness.

They came so near us that they were within gunshot of us, and then one of our men chanced to see a light, and then looking out spied the 4 ships, and suddenly cried

out, "Galleys, galleys," at which cry we were all amazed; and forthwith they shot at us all the great ordnance that they had, and their arquebusses, and curriers, and so lighted certain trunks or pieces of wild fire, and all of them with one voice (as well they on the shore as they in the ships) gave a great shout, and so continued halloing with great noises, still approaching nearer and nearer unto the May Flower. We (with all the speed that we might) made ready one piece of ordnance and shot at them, which caused them somewhat to stay; so they charged their ordnance and shot at us freshly again, and while they shot this second time at us, we had made ready three pieces which we shot at them; but they approached still so near, that at last we might have shot a sheaf arrow to them. Whereupon we, having a gale of wind off the shore, hoisted our foresail, and cut our cable at the hawse, and went toward our Admiral; and they continued following and shooting at us, and sometimes at our Admiral, but our Admiral shot one such piece at them, that it made them to retire, and at length to warp away like traitorous villains; and although they thus suddenly shot all their shot at us, yet they hurt neither man nor boy of ours, but what we did to them we know not. But seeing the villainy of these men we thought it best to stay there no longer, but immediately set sail.

From the Cape Verde Islands they sail to the 'Azores.

The 8 day of May we came to Tercera, where we met with a Portugall ship; and being destitute of a cable and anchor, our General caused us to keep her company, to see if she could conveniently spare us any. The next morning we might see bearing with us a great ship and

two Caravels, which we judged to be of the King of Portugal's Armada, and so they were; whereupon we prepared ourselves for our defence. The said ship was one of the King's Gallies, about the burden of four hundred tons, with about three hundred men in her, the ship being well appointed with brass pieces both great and small, and some of them so big that their shot was as great as a man's head; the other two Caravels were also very warlike and well appointed both with men and munition.

As soon as they were within shot of us, they waved us amain with their swords; we keeping our course, the greatest ship shot at us freely and the Caravel also, and we prepared ourselves, and made all things clear for our safeguard as near as we could. Then the great ship shot at us all her broadside, and her four greatest pieces that lay in her stern, and therewith hurt some of our men; and we did the best we could with our shot to requite it. At last two other Caravels came off the shore, and two other pinnaces full of men, and delivered them aboard the great ship, and so went back again with two men in a-piece of them. The ship and the Caravel gave us the first day three fights, and when the night was come they left off shooting, yet notwithstanding kept hard by us all the night. In the meantime we had as much as we could do all the night to mend our ropes, and to strengthen our bulwarks; putting our trust in God, and resolving ourselves rather to die in our defence than to be taken by such wretches.

The next day being the 10 of May in the morning, there were come to aid the said Portugals four great Armadas or Caravels more, which made seven; of which

4, three of them were at the least 100 tons a-piece, the other not so big, but all well appointed and full of men. All these together came bearing with us, being in our Admiral; and one of the great Caravels came to lay us aboard (as we judged) for they had prepared their false nettings, and all things for that purpose; so that the Galliass came up on our larboard side, and the Caravel on our starboard side.

Our Captain and Master perceiving their pretence, caused our gunners to make all our ordnance ready with cross-bars, chain-shot and hail-shot: so the ship and Caravel came up, and as soon as they were right on our sides, they shot at us as much ordnance as they could, thinking to have laid us presently aboard: whereupon we gave them such a heat with both our sides, that they were both glad to fall astern of us; and so paused the space of two or three hours; being a very small gale of wind.

Then came up the other five and shot all at us, and so fell all astern of us, and then went to counsel together.

Then our small barque named the George came to us, and we conferred together a great space. And as the Portugall ships and Caravels were coming to us again, our barque minding to fall astern of us and so to come up again, fell quickly upon the lee; and by reason of the little wind, it was so long before she could fill her sails again, that both the ship and Caravels were come up to us; and she falling in among them made reasonable shift with them, but they got ahead of her, so that she could not fetch us: then 5 of the Caravels followed her, but we saw she defended herself against them all.

Then came the great ship and the Caravel to us, and fought with us all that day with their ordnance.

The May Flower our other consort, being very good by the wind, took the benefit thereof and held all that day close by the wind, but could not come near us. So when night again was come, they gave over their fight and followed us all the night.

In these many fights it could not otherwise be but needs some of our men must be slain (as they were indeed) and divers hurt, and our tackle much spoiled: yet for all this we did our best endeavour to repair all things, and to stand to it to the death, with our assured trust in the mercy and help of God.

This night the May Flower came up to us, and our Captain told them his harms and spoils, and wished them, if they could spare half a dozen fresh men, to hoist out their boat and send them to him; but they could not spare any, and so bare away again. Which, when our enemies saw in the next morning that we were one from another, they came up to us again and gave us a great fight with much halloing and hooping, making account either to board us or else to sink us: but although our company was but small, yet lest they should see us any whit dismayed, when they halloed we halloed also as fast as they, and waved to them to come and board us if they durst; but that they would not, seeing us still so courageous: and having given us that day four fights, at night they forsook us with shame, as they came to us at the first with pride.

They had made in our ship some leaks with their shot, which we again stopped with all speed, and that being done, we took some rest after our long labour and trouble.

The next day in the morning, the May Flower came to us, and brought us six men in her boat which did us much

pleasure; and we sent to them some of our hurt men.

Then we directed our course for our own country, and by the second day of June we were near to our own coast, and sounded, being thwart the Lyzard.

The sixth day we came in at the Needles, and so came to an anchor under the Isle of Wight at a place called Meadhole; and from thence sailed to Southhampton where we made an end of this voyage.

VI. THE WEST INDIES AND THE SPANISH MAIN

By an appeal to the Pope, the world—and all the undiscovered parts of it—had been divided between Spain and Portugal. To avoid direct conflict with these two great powers the English had sought ways by the North-East, and the North-West; and this was the official policy of Queen Elizabeth. But meanwhile other Englishmen refused to accept so monstrous a claim, and bade defiance to those who made it. It was dangerous enough to sail with Fenner to the Guinea Coast against the Portuguese; to cross the Atlantic and face the might of Spain was more daring still. Mexico, Peru, the West Indian Islands and the Spanish Main (that is the coast of South America from Darien to the River Orinoco) were the jealously guarded sources of Spanish wealth and power.

TREACHERY IN THE WEST INDIES

The fight at St. John de Ullua is perhaps the most important single incident in the whole of Hakluyt—"in all our annals rarely surpassed as an heroic and successful defence against a treacherous surprise." It happened on the third voyage of John Hawkins to the West Indies. His practice was—and it was not thought wrong in those days—to capture Negro slaves in Africa, and to sell them to the Spaniards in the New World. Any trade with the English was forbidden in America by the King of Spain; but in spite of this Hawkins carried on his traffic with great success. The unforgivable treachery at St. John de Ullua, and the cruel treatment of the prisoners who were taken, led at last to so great a hatred of Spain in England that (though there were other causes) war was bound to come. Hawkins in the "Jesus of Lubeck," an old but powerful ship, was in command of six vessels: of these the "Minion" was smaller but well armed, and the "Judith" was a tiny barque of 50 tons—but her Captain, unfortunately for Spain, was a young, unknown officer—Francis Drake. The story begins in February 1568, after the slaves had been collected on the Guinea Coast.

Now had we obtained between four and five hundred Negroes, wherewith we thought it somewhat reasonable

to seek the coast of the West Indies; and there, for our Negroes, and other our merchandise, we hoped to obtain whereof to countervail our charges with some gains. Whereunto we proceeded with all diligence, furnished our watering, took fuel, and departed the coast of Guinea the third of February, continuing at the sea with a passage more hard than before hath been accustomed, till the 27 day of March; which day we had sight of an Island, called Dominica, upon the coast of the West Indies, in fourteen degrees. From thence we coasted from place to place, making our traffic with the Spaniards as we might; somewhat hardly, because the King had straightly commanded all his Governors in those parts, by no means to suffer any trade to be made with us: notwithstanding, we had reasonable trade, and courteous entertainment, from the Isle of Margarita unto Cartagena, without anything greatly worth the noting, saving at Capo de la Vela, in a town called Rio de la Hacha (from whence come all the pearls) the treasurer who had the charge there, would by no means agree to any trade, or suffer us to take water. He had fortified his town with divers bulwarks in all places where it might be entered, and furnished himself with an hundred Arquebusiers, so that he thought by famine to have enforced us to have put a-land our Negroes: of which purpose he had not greatly failed, unless we had by force entered the town: which (after we could by no means obtain his favour) we were enforced to do; and so with two hundred men brake in upon their bulwarks, and entered the town with the loss only of two men of our party, and no hurt done to the Spaniards because after their volley of shot discharged, they all fled.

Thus, having the town with some circumstance, as partly by the Spaniards' desire of Negroes, and partly by friendship of the Treasurer, we obtained a secret trade: whereupon the Spaniards resorted to us by night, and bought of us to the number of 200 Negroes. In all other places where we traded, the Spanish inhabitants were glad of us and traded willingly.

At Cartagena, the last town we thought to have seen on the coast, we could by no means obtain to deal with any Spaniard, the governor was so straight. And because our trade was so near finished we thought not good either to adventure any landing, or to detract further time, but in peace departed from thence the 24 of July; hoping to have escaped the time of their storms which then soon after began to reign, the which they call Furicanos; but passing by the West end of Cuba, towards the coast of Florida, there happened to us the 12 day of August an extreme storm which continued by the space of four days, which so beat the Jesus, that we cut down all her higher buildings; her rudder also was sore shaken, and withal was in so extreme a leak that we were rather upon the point to leave her than to keep her any longer. Yet hoping to bring all to good pass, we sought the coast of Florida, where we found no place nor Haven for our ships, because of the shallowness of the coast. Thus being in greater despair, and taken with a new storm which continued other 3 days, we were enforced to take for our succour the Port which serveth the city of Mexico called Saint John de Ullua, which standeth in 19 degrees: in seeking of which Port we took in our way 3 ships, which carried passengers to the number of an hundred, which passengers we hoped should be a means to us the better to obtain

victuals for our money, and a quiet place for the repairing of our fleet. Shortly after this, the 16 of September, we entered the Port of Saint John de Ullua; and in our entry the Spaniards, thinking us to be the fleet of Spain, the chief officers of the Country came aboard us, which being deceived of their expectation were greatly dismayed: but immediately when they saw our demand was nothing but victuals, were re-comforted. I found also in the same Port twelve ships which had in them, by report, two hundred thousand pound in gold and silver; all which (being in my possession, with the King's Island, as also the passengers before in my way thitherward stayed) I set at liberty, without the taking from them the weight of a groat. Only because I would not be delayed of my dispatch, I stayed two men of estimation; and sent post immediately to Mexico, which was two hundred miles from us, to the Presidents and Council there, showing them of our arrival there by the force of weather, and the necessity of the repair of our ships and victuals, which wants we required, as friends to King Philip, to be furnished of for our money: and that the Presidents and Council there should with all convenient speed take order, that at the arrival of the Spanish fleet, which was daily looked for, there might no cause of quarrel rise between us and them; but for the better maintenance of amity, their commandment might be had in that behalf. This message being sent away the sixteenth day of September at night, being the very day of our arrival, in the next morning, which was the seventeenth day of the same month, we saw open of the Haven thirteen great ships; and understanding them to be the fleet of Spain, I sent immediately to advertise the General

of the fleet of my being there, doing him to understand, that before I would suffer them to enter the Port, there should some order of conditions pass between us for our safe being there, and maintenance of peace. Now it is to be understood that this Port is made by a little Island of stones not three foot above the water in the highest place, and but a bow-shot of length any way; this Island standeth from the main-land two bow-shots or more. Also it is to be understood that there is not in all this coast any other place for ships to arrive in safety; because the North wind hath there such violence, that unless the ships be very safely moored, with their anchors fastened upon this Island, there is no remedy for these North winds but death: also the place of the Haven was so little, that of necessity the ships must ride one aboard the other, so that we could not give place to them, nor they to us. And here I began to bewail that which after followed; for now, said I, I am in two dangers, and forced to receive the one of them. That was, either I must have kept out the fleet from entering the Port, the which with God's help I was very well able to do; or else suffer them to enter in with their accustomed treason, which they never fail to execute, where they may have opportunity to compass it by any means. If I had kept them out, then had there been present shipwreck of all the fleet, which amounted in value to six millions, which was in value of our money £1,800,000; which, I considered I was not able to answer, fearing the Queen's Majesty's indignation in so weighty a matter.¹ Thus with myself revolving the doubts, I thought rather better to

¹ Queen Elizabeth was striving to keep the peace with Spain, and would not allow an open act of hostility of this kind.

abide the jutt of the uncertainty, than the certainty. The uncertain doubt I account was their treason, which by good policy I hoped might be prevented; and therefore, as choosing the least mischief, I proceeded to conditions.

The two commanders agree that the fleets shall anchor peacefully side by side; that the English shall keep possession of the Island and have liberty to repair their ships: and that no one of either side "should violate the peace upon pain of death."

Thus at the end of 3 days all was concluded and the fleet entered the Port, saluting one another as the manner of the sea doth require. Thus as I said before; Thursday we entered the Port, Friday we saw the fleet, and on Monday, at night, they entered the Port. Then we laboured 2 days, placing the English ships by themselves and the Spanish ships by themselves; the captains of each part, and inferior men of their parts, promising great amity of all sides: which even as with all fidelity it was meant on our part, so the Spaniards meant nothing less on their parts; but from the mainland had furnished themselves with a supply of men to the number of 1,000, and meant the next Thursday, being the 23 of September, at dinner-time to set upon us on all sides. The same Thursday, in the morning, the treason being at hand, some appearance showed; as shifting of weapon from ship to ship, planting and bending of ordnance from the ships to the Island where our men warded, passing to and fro of companies of men more than required for their necessary business, and many other ill likelihoods, which caused us to have a vehement suspicion; and therewithal sent to the Viceroy to inquire what was meant by it, which sent immediately straight commandment to unplant all things suspicious,

and also sent word that he, in the faith of a Viceroy, would be our defence from all villainies. Yet we being not satisfied with this answer, because we suspected a great number of men to be hid in a great ship of 900 tons, which was moored next unto the Minion, sent again to the Viceroy the master of the Jesus, which had the Spanish tongue, and required to be satisfied if any such thing were or not. The Viceroy, now seeing that the treason must be discovered, forthwith stayed our master, blew the Trumpet, and of all sides set upon us. Our men which warded ashore, being stricken with sudden fear, gave place, fled, and sought to recover succour of the ships; the Spaniards, being before provided for the purpose, landed in all places in multitudes from their ships, which they might easily do without boats, and slew all our men ashore without mercy; a few of them escaped aboard the Jesus. The great ship which had, by the estimation three hundred men placed in her secretly, immediately fell aboard the Minion; but by God's appointment, in the time of the suspicion we had, which was only one half hour, the Minion was made ready to avoid; and so leeing her headfasts, and hauling away by the sternfasts, she was gotten out. Thus with God's help she defended the violence of the first brunt of these three hundred men. The Minion being passed out, they came aboard the Jesus, which also with very much ado and the loss of many of our men, were defended and kept out. Then there were also two other ships that assaulted the Jesus at the same instant, so that she had hard getting loose, but yet, with some time, we had cut our headfasts and gotten out by the sternfasts. Now when the Jesus and the Minion were gotten about two ships' length

from the Spanish fleet, the fight began so hot on all sides that within one hour the Admiral of the Spaniards was supposed to be sunk, their Vice-admiral burned and one other of their principal ships supposed to be sunk; so that the ships were little able to annoy us.

Then it is to be understood, that all the Ordnance upon the Island was in the Spaniards' hands; which did us so great annoyance, that it cut all the masts and yards of the *Jesus*, in such sort that there was no hope to carry her away: also it sunk our small ships, whereupon we determined to place the *Jesus* on that side of the *Minion*, that she might abide all the battery from the land, and so be a defence for the *Minion* till night; and then to take such relief of victual and other necessaries from the *Jesus*, as the time would suffer us, and to leave her. As we were thus determining, and had placed the *Minion* from the shot of the land, suddenly the Spaniards had fired two great ships which were coming directly with us; and having no means to avoid the fire, it bred among our men a marvellous fear, so that some said, "Let us depart with the *Minion*." Other said, "Let us see whether the wind will carry the fire from us." But to be short, the *Minion's* men, which had always their sails in a-readiness, thought to make sure work; and so without either consent of the Captain or Master cut their sail, so that very hardly I was received into the *Minion*.

The most part of the men that were left alive in the *Jesus*, made shift and followed the *Minion* in a small boat; the rest, which the little boat was not able to receive, were enforced to abide the mercy of the Spaniards (which I doubt was very little) so with the *Minion* only and the *Judith* (a small barque of 50 tons) we escaped; which

barque the same night forsook us in our great misery. We were now removed with the Minion from the Spanish ships, two bow-shots, and there rode all that night: the next morning we recovered an Island a mile from the Spaniards, where there took us a North wind, and being left only with two anchors and two cables (for in this conflict we lost three cables and two anchors) we thought always upon death which ever was present, but God preserved us to a longer time.

The weather waxed reasonable, and the Saturday we set sail, and having a great number of men and little victuals, our hope of life waxed less and less: some desired to yield to the Spaniards, some rather desired to obtain a place where they might give themselves to the Infidels, and some had rather abide with a little pittance the mercy of God at Sea. So thus with many sorrowful hearts we wandered in an unknown Sea by the space of 14 days, till hunger enforced us to seek the land; for hides were thought very good meat—rats, cats, mice and dogs, none escaped that might be gotten; parrots and monkeys that were had in great price, were thought there very profitable if they served the turn one dinner. Thus in the end, the 8 day of October, we came to the land in the bottom of the same bay of Mexico in 23 degrees and a half; where we hoped to have found inhabitants of the Spaniards, relief of victuals, and place for the repair of our ship, which was so sore beaten with shot from our enemies and bruised with shooting off our own ordnance, that our weary and weak arms were scarce able to defend and keep out water. But all things happened to the contrary, for we found neither people, victual, nor haven of relief, but a place where, having fair weather, with some peril

we might land a boat: our people being forced with hunger, desired to be set on land, whereunto I consented.

And such as were willing to land I put them apart, and such as were desirous to go homewards, I put apart; so that they were indifferently parted a hundred of one side, and a hundred of the other side: these hundred men we set a-land with all diligence in this little place aforesaid; which being landed, we determined there to take in fresh water, and so with our little remain of victuals to take the sea.

The next day, having a-land with me fifty of our hundred men that remained for the speedier preparing of our water aboard, there arose an extreme storm, so that in three days we could by no means repair aboard our ship: the ship also was in such peril that every hour we looked for shipwreck.

But yet God again had mercy on us, and sent fair weather; we had aboard our water, and departed the sixteenth day of October, after which day we had fair and prosperous weather till the sixteenth day of November; which day, God be praised, we were clear from the coast of the Indies, and out of the channel and gulf of Bahama, which is between the Cape of Florida, and the Islands of Lucayo. After this, growing near to the cold country, our men being oppressed with famine, died continually; and they that were left, grew into such weakness that we were scanty able to manage our ship; and the wind being always ill for us to recover England, we determined to go with Galicia in Spaine, with intent there to relieve our company, and other extreme wants. And, being arrived the last day of December, in a place near unto Vigo called Ponte Vedra, our men with excess of fresh meat grew

into miserable diseases, and died a great part of them. This matter was borne out as long as it might be, but in the end although there were none of our men suffered to go a-land, yet by access of the Spaniards, our feebleness was known to them. Whereupon they ceased not to seek by all means to betray us; but with all speed possible we departed to Vigo, where we had some help of certain English ships; and twelve fresh men; wherewith we repaired our wants as we might, and departing the 20 day of January 1568, arrived in Mount's Bay in Cornwall the 25 of the same month, praised be God therefore.

If all the miseries and troublesome affairs of this sorrowful voyage should be perfectly and thoroughly written, there should need a painful man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the lives and deaths of the Martyrs.

JOHN HAWKINS.

DRAKE ON THE SPANISH MAIN

The treachery at St. John de Ullua had made Drake "an implacable enemy of the Spaniards." This famous raid of revenge made on the Spanish Main in 1572 was much more successful than would appear from the following hostile account written by a Portuguese prisoner. Drake did actually take the town of Nombre de Dios, throwing the Spanish garrison into panic; but was himself so badly wounded that he had to withdraw. The ambush of the mule-train carrying treasure from the mines of Peru was completely successful, and Drake escaped with most of the booty.

THERE was a certain Englishman named Francis Drake, who, having intelligence how the town of Nombre de Dios in New Spain, had but small store of people remain-

ing there, came on a night, and entered the Port with four Pinnaces, and landed about 150 men; and leaving 70 men with a trumpet, in a Fort which was there, with the other 80 he entered the town, without doing any harm, till he came to the market-place; and there discharged his calivers, and sounded a trumpet very loud. And the others which he had left in the Fort answered him after the same manner, with the discharging their calivers, and sounding their trumpets. The people hereupon, not thinking of any such matter, were put in great fear, and waking out of their sleep fled all into the mountains, inquiring one of another what the matter should be; remaining as men amazed, not knowing what that uproar was which happened so suddenly in the town. But 14 or 15 of them joining together, with their arquebuses went to the market-place to know what they were that were in the town, and in a corner of the market-place they did discover the Englishmen; and seeing them to be but few, discharged their calivers at those Englishmen. Their fortune was such that they killed the Trumpeter, and shot one of the principal men through the leg; who seeing himself hurt, retired to the Fort, where the rest of their company was left: they which were in the Fort sounded their trumpet, and seeing that they in the town did not answer them, and hearing the calivers, thought that all they in the town had been slain, and thereupon fled to their Pinnaces. The English captain coming to the Fort, and not finding his men which he left there, he and his were in so great fear, that leaving their furniture behind them, and putting off their hose, they swam, and waded all to their Pinnaces, and so went with their ships again out of the Port.

Thus this English Captain, called Francis Drake, departed from Nombre de Dios, and slew only one man in the town, which was looking out of a window to see what the matter was; and of his men had only his Trumpeter slain.

But he, being discontented with the repulse which he had received there, came to the Sound of Darien; and having conference with certain Negroes which were fled from their masters of Panama, and Nombre de Dios, the Negroes did tell him that certain Mules came laden with gold and silver from Panama to Nombre de Dios: who, in company of these Negroes, went thereupon on land, and stayed in the way where the treasure should come, with a hundred shot; and so took two companies of mules, which came only with their drivers mistrusting nothing; and he carried away the gold only, for they were not able to carry the silver through the mountains. And two days after, he came to the house of Crosses¹; where he killed six or seven merchants, but found no gold nor silver, but much merchandise: so he fired the house, where was burnt above 200,000 Ducats in merchandise, and so went to his ship again: and within half an hour after he was a-shipboard, there came down to the sands three hundred shot of the Spaniards in the sight of his ships, of purpose to seek him; but he cared little for them, being out of their reach, and so departed with his treasure.

¹ Venta Cruz.

JOHN OXENHAM SAILS ON THE PACIFIC

The "romantic tragedy" of John Oxenham has been retold by Kingsley in "Westward Ho." Oxenham was one of Drake's bravest commanders at Nombre de Dios, and in 1575 he sailed with one small ship in an attempt to repeat that raid. The result was an exploit of reckless audacity "almost without an equal in the annals of maritime daring." He was, too, the first Englishman ever to sail on the Pacific Ocean. The story is written by the same prisoner who told of Drake's adventure.

THERE was another Englishman, who hearing of the spoil that Francis Drake had done upon the coast of New Spain, and of his good adventure and safe return home, was thereby provoked to undertake the like enterprise, with a ship of 140 tons, and 70 men, and came thither, and had also conference with the Negroes: and hearing that the gold and silver which came upon the Mules from Panama to Nombre de Dios, was now conducted with soldiers, he determined to do that which never any man before enterprised: and landed in that place where Francis Drake before had had his conference with the Negroes. This man covered his ship after he had brought her aground with boughs of trees, and hid his great ordnance in the ground; and so not leaving any man in his ship, he took two small pieces of ordnance, and his calivers, and good store of victuals, and so went with the Negroes about twelve leagues into the mainland, to a river that goeth to the South sea. And there he cut wood and made a Pinnace, which was five and forty foot by the keel; and having made this Pinnace, he went into the South sea, carrying six Negroes with him to be his guides, and so went to the Island of Pearls, which is five and

twenty leagues from Panama, which is in the way that they come from Peru to Panama; and there he was ten days without shewing himself to any man, to see if he might get any ship that came from Peru. At last there came a small Barque by, which came from Peru, from a place called Quito; which he took and found in her sixty thousand pesos of gold, and much victuals. But not contenting himself with this prize, he stayed long without sending away his prize or any of the men; and in the end of six days after, he took another Barque which came from Lima, in which he took an hundred thousand pesos of silver in bars, with the which he thought to have gone, and entered the river; but first he went into the Islands to see if he could find any pearls: where he found a few, and so returned to his pinnace again. And so sailing to the river from whence he came, and coming near to the mouth of the said river, he sent away the two prizes that he took, and with his pinnace he went up the river. The Negroes that dwelt in the Island of pearls, the same night that he went from them, went in Canoes to Panama; and the Governor within two days sent four barques, 100 men (25 in every one), and Negroes to row, with the captain John de Ortega; which went to the Island of pearls, and there had intelligence, which way the Englishmen were gone. And following them he met by the way the ships which the Englishmen had taken; of whom he learned that the Englishmen were gone up the river. And he going thither, when he came to the mouth of the river, the captain of Panama knew not which way to take, because there were three partitions in the river to go up in; and being determined to go up the greatest of the three rivers, he saw coming down a lesser river many

feathers of hens, which the Englishmen had pulled to eat; and being glad thereof, he went up that river where he saw the feathers. And after that he had been in that river four days, he descried the Englishmen's pinnace upon the sands; and coming to her, there were no more than six Englishmen; whereof they killed one, and the other five escaped away, and in the pinnace he found nothing but victuals. But this captain of Panama not herewith satisfied, determined to seek out the Englishmen by land; and leaving twenty men in his pinnaces, he with 80 shot went up the country. He had not gone half a league, but he found a house made of boughs, where they found all the Englishmen's goods, and the gold and silver also; and carrying it back to their pinnaces, the Spaniards were determined to go away, without following the Englishmen any farther.

But at the end of three days, the English Captain came to the river with all his men, and above 200 Negroes, and set upon the Spaniards with great fury. But the Spaniards having the advantage of trees which they stood behind, did easily prevail, and killed eleven Englishmen, and five Negroes, and took other seven Englishmen alive; but of the Spaniards, two were slain and five sore hurt.

Among other things, the Spaniards enquired of the Englishmen which they took, why they went not away in fifteen days' liberty which they had. They answered, that their captain had commanded them to carry all that gold and silver which they had, to the place where they had left their ship; and they had promised him to carry it, although they made three or four journeys of it, for he promised to give them part of it besides their wages. But the mariners would have it by and by; and so their

Captain being angry because they would not take his word, fell out with them, and they with him, in so much that one of the company would have killed the Captain; so that the Captain would not have them to carry the treasure, but said he would seek Negroes to carry it. And so he went and sought for Negroes; and bringing those Negroes to carry it, he met with the five Englishmen that he had left in his pinnace, which ran from the Spaniards; and the rest also which ran from the house; and they told him what the Spaniards had done. And then making friendship with all his men, he promised them half of all the treasure if they got it from the Spaniards; and the Negroes promised to help him with their bows and arrows. And thereupon they came to seek the Spaniards; and now that some of his company were killed and taken, he thought it best to return to his ship, and to pass back for England. The Spanish captain hearing this, having buried the dead bodies, and having gotten all things into his barques, and taking the Englishmen and their pinnace with him, he returned to Panama: so the voyage of that Englishman did not prosper with him, as he thought it would have done.

Now when the four barques were come to Panama, they sent advice also to Nombre de Dios; and they of Nombre de Dios sent also from them other four barques which (as the Spaniards say) found the English ship where she was hid, and brought her to Nombre de Dios. And the Viceroy of Peru not thinking it good to suffer fifty Englishmen to remain in the country, sent a servant of his called Diego de Frees, with a hundred and fifty shot into the mountains to seek them out; who found them making of certain Canoes to go into the North sea, and there to

take some barque or other: some of them were sick, and were taken, and the rest fled with the Negroes; who in the end betrayed them to the Spaniards, so that they were brought to Panama. And the Justice of Panama asked the English captain whether he had the Queen's licence, or the licence of any other Prince or Lord for his attempt.¹ And he answered he had none; whereupon he and all his company were condemned to die, and so were all executed; saving the Captain, the Master, the Pilot, and five boys, which were carried to Lima; and there the Captain was executed with the other two, but the boys be yet living.

The Spaniards of that country marvelled much at this one thing; to see that since the conquering of this land, there have been many Frenchmen, that have come to those Countries, but never saw Englishmen there but only those two of whom I have spoken. And although there have many Frenchmen been on the coast, yet never durst they put foot upon land; only those two Englishmen adventured it, and did such exploits, as are before remembered.

All these things coming to the hearing of the king of Spain, he provided two Galleys well appointed to keep those coasts: and the first year they took six or seven French ships. And after that this was known, there were no more Englishmen or Frenchmen of war that durst adventure to approach the coast until this present

¹ The law was that if a man had been wronged at sea, he was allowed to recover his loss by force from any fellow-countryman of the wrongdoer—but only if he had "letters of marque" from his own government permitting him to do this. If he had not, he was treated as a pirate and hanged.

year 1586, that the aforesaid Francis Drake, with a strong fleet of 24 ships arrived there, and made spoil of Santo Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine; things that are known to all the world.¹ But it is likely that if the King of Spain live, he will in time provide sufficient remedy, to keep his countries and subjects from the invasion of other nations.

VII. DRAKE SAILS ROUND THE WORLD

The relations between England and Spain were becoming more and more hostile. Drake, still seeking revenge, thought out the daring plan of a raid into the Pacific and the Spanish provinces on the Western coast of America, by way of the Straits of Magellan—a passage so dangerous that it had been abandoned by the Spaniards: and this time he had the approval of the Queen. He may also have dreamed of founding a “New England” or “Nova Albion” to rival the power and riches of “New Spain.”

“The immortal voyage” of his ship, the “Golden Hind,” began in December 1577 and lasted for three years: she left the Cape Verde Islands for the Atlantic crossing in February 1578.

FROM the first day of our departure from the Islands of Cape Verde, we sailed 54 days without sight of land; and the first land that we fell with was the coast of Brasil, which we saw the fifth of April. And being discovered at sea by the inhabitants of the country, they made upon the coast great fires for a sacrifice (as we learned) to the devils; about which they use conjurations, making heaps of sand and other ceremonies, that when any ship

¹ See page 164.

shall go about to stay upon their coast, not only sands may be gathered together in shoals in every place, but also that storms and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men; whereof (as it is reported) there have been divers experiments.

The seventh day, in a mighty great storm both of lightning, rain and thunder, we lost the Canter which we called the Christopher¹: but the eleventh day after, by our General's great care in dispersing his ships, we found her again; and the place where we met, our General called the Cape of Joy, where every ship took in some water. Here we found a good temperature and sweet air, a very fair and pleasant country with an exceeding fruitful soil, where were great store of large and mighty Deer, but we came not to the sight of any people; but travelling further into the country, we perceived the footing of people in the clay ground, showing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our ships, we weighed anchor, and ran somewhat further, and harboured ourselves between a rock and the main; where by means of the rock that broke the force of the sea, we rode very safe; and upon this rock we killed for our provision certain sea-wolves, commonly called with us Seals.

The twentieth of June we harboured ourselves again in a very good harbour, called by Magellan Port St. Julian; where we found a gibbet standing upon the main, which we supposed to be the place where Magellan did execution upon some of his disobedient and rebellious company.

The 17 day of August we departed the port of St. Julian, and the 20 day we fell with the strait or freat of

¹ A Spanish fishing boat which they had captured.

Magellan going into the South sea; at the Cape or headland whereof we found the body of a dead man, whose flesh was clean consumed.

The 21 day we entered the strait, which we found to have many turnings, and as it were shuttings up, as if there were no passage at all; by means whereof we had the wind often against us, so that some of the fleet recovering a Cape or point of land, others should be forced to turn back again, and to come to an anchor where they could.

In this strait there be many fair harbours, with store of fresh water, but yet they lack their best commodity: for the water is there of such depth, that no man shall find ground to anchor in, except it be in some narrow river or corner, or between some rocks; so that if any extreme blasts or contrary winds do come (whereunto the place is much subject) it carrieth with it no small danger.

The land on both sides is very huge and mountainous; the lower mountains whereof, although they be monstrous and wonderful to look upon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceed them in a strange manner, reaching themselves above their fellows so high, that between them did appear three regions of clouds.

These mountains are covered with snow: at both the Southerly and Easterly parts of the strait there are Islands, among which the sea hath his indraught into the straits, even as it hath in the main entrance of the freat.

This strait is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually; the trees seem to stoop with the burden of the weather, and yet are green continually; and many good and sweet herbs do very plentifully grow and increase under them.

The breadth of the strait is in some place a league, in some other places 2 leagues, and three leagues, and in some other 4 leagues, but the narrowest place hath a league over.

The 24 of August we arrived at an Island in the straits; where we found great store of fowl which could not fly, of the bigness of geese; whereof we killed in less than one day 3,000, and victualled ourselves thoroughly therewith.

The 6 day of September we entered the South sea at the Cape or head shore.

The seventh day we were driven by a great storm, from the entering into the South sea, two hundred leagues and odd in longitude, and one degree to the Southward of the Strait: in which height, and so many leagues to the Westward, the fifteenth day of September fell out the Eclipse of the Moon at the hour of six of the clock at night: but neither did the Ecliptical conflict of the Moon impair our state, nor her clearing again amend us a whit; but the accustomed Eclipse of the Sea continued in his force, we being darkened more than the Moon seven-fold.

From the Bay (which we called "The Bay of Severing of Friends") we were driven back to the Southward of the straits in 57 degrees and a third: in which height we came to an anchor among the Islands, having there fresh and good water, with herbs of singular virtue.¹ Not far from hence we entered another Bay, where we found people both men and women in their Canoes, naked, and

¹ Drake's course is difficult to follow, but it is almost certain that about this time he discovered Cape Horn and the islands to the South of Tierra del Fuego, which he named the "Elizabethides."

ranging from one Island to another to seek their meat; who entered traffic with us for such things as they had.

We returning hence Northward again, found the 3 of October three Islands, in one of which was such plenty of birds as is scant credible to report.

The 8 day of October we lost sight of one of our Consorts wherein M. Winter was; who as then we supposed was put by a storm into the straits again; which at our return home we found to be true, and he not perished, as some of our company feared.

Thus being come into the height of the straits again, we ran; supposing the coast of Chile to lie as the general Maps have described it, namely North-west, which we found to lie and trend to the North-east and Eastwards; whereby it appeareth that this part of Chile hath not been truly hitherto discovered, or at the least not truly reported for the space of 12 degrees at the least, being set down either of purpose to deceive, or of ignorant conjecture.

They sail up the West coast of South America, visiting several ports and capturing much treasure.

To Lima we came the 13 day of February; and being entered the haven, we found there about twelve sail of ships, lying fast moored at an anchor, having all their sails carried on shore; for the masters and merchants were here most secure, having never been assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approach of none such as we were. Our general rifled these ships, and found in one of them a chest full of royals of plate, and good store of silks and linen cloth; and took the chest into his own ship, and good store of the silks and linen. In which ship he had news of another ship called the Cacafuego, which

was gone towards Paita, and that the same ship was laden with treasure. Whereupon we stayed no longer here, but cutting all the cables of the ships in the haven, we let them drive whither they would, either to sea or to the shore; and with all speed we followed the Cacafuego toward Paita, thinking there to have found her: but before we arrived there, she was gone from thence towards Panama; whom our General still pursued, and by the way met with a barque laden with ropes and tackle for ships, which he boarded and searched, and found in her 80 pounds weight of gold, and a crucifix of gold with goodly great Emeralds set in it which he took; and some of the cordage also for his own ship.

From hence we departed, still following the Cacafuego, and our General promised our company, that whosoever could first descry her, should have his chain of gold for his good news. It fortun'd that John Drake, going up into the top, descried her about three of the clock; and about six of the clock we came to her and boarded her, and shot at her three pieces of ordnance, and struck down her Mizen; and being entered, we found in her great riches, as jewels and precious stones, thirteen chests full of royals of plate, four score pound weight of gold, and six and twenty ton of silver. The place where we took this prize, was called Cape de San Francisco, about 150 leagues from Panama.

When our General had done what he would with this Cacafuego, he cast her off, and we went on our course still towards the West; and not long after, met with a ship laden with linen cloth and fine China-dishes of white earth, and great store of China-silks; of all which things we took as we listed.

The owner himself of this ship was in her, who was a Spanish Gentleman; from whom our General took a Fawlcøn of gold, with a great Emerald in the breast thereof; and the Pilot of the ship he took also with him, and so cast the ship off.

This Pilot brought us to the haven of Guatulco, the town whereof, as he told us, had but 17 Spaniards in it.

As soon as we were entered this Haven we landed, and went presently to the town, and to the Town house, where we found a Judge sitting in judgment, he being associate with three other officers, upon three Negroes that had conspired the burning of the Town: both which Judges and prisoners we took, and brought them a-ship-board, and caused the chief Judge to write his letter to the Town, to command all the Townsmen to avoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ransacked the Town, and in one house we found a pot of the quantity of a bushel, full of royals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

And here one Thomas Moone, one of our company, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the Town, and searching him, he found a chain of Gold about him, and other jewels, which he took and so let him go.

At this place our General, among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugal Pilot, which he took at the Island of Cape Verde, out of a ship of Saint Mary port of Portugal; and having set them ashore, we departed thence.

Our General, at this place and time, thinking himself both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities

offered to our Country and Prince in general, sufficiently satisfied, and revenged: and supposing that her Majesty at his return would rest contented with this service, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Country.

He thought it not good to return by the Straits, for two special causes: the one, lest the Spaniards should there wait, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose hands he, being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Straits in the South Sea, with continual storms raining and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands upon the coast, wherefore he thought it not a good course to adventure that way: he resolved therefore to avoid these hazards, to go forward to the Islands of the Moluccas, and thence to sail the course of the Portugales by the Cape of Good Hope.

Upon this resolution, he began to think of his best way for the Moluccas, and finding himself where he now was, becalmed, he saw that of necessity he must be enforced to take a Spanish course, namely to sail somewhat Northerly to get a wind. We therefore set sail, and sailed 800 leagues at the least for a good wind, and thus we sailed from the 16 of April till the third of June.

The fifth day of June, being in forty-three degrees towards the pole Arctic, being speedily come out of the extreme heat, we found the air so cold, that our men being pinched with the same, complained of the extremity thereof; and the farther we went, the more the cold increased upon us, whereupon we thought it best for that

time to seek land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plain land; and we drew back again without landing, till we came within thirty-eight degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a fair and good Bay,¹ with a good wind to enter the same.

In this Bay we anchored the seventeenth of June, and the people of the Country, having their houses close by the water's side, showed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our General.

When they came unto us, they greatly wondered at the things which we brought; but our General (according to his natural and accustomed humanity) courteously entreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessary things to cover their nakedness, whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be persuaded to the contrary: the presents which they sent unto our General were feathers, and cauls of network.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and have from the outermost brims of the circle, cliffs of wood set upon them, joining close together at the top like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closeness are very warm.

Their bed is the ground with rushes strawed on it, and lying about the house, they have the fire in the midst. The men go naked, the women take bulrushes and comb them after the manner of hemp, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang down about their hips; having also about their shoulders a skin of Deer, with the hair upon it. These women are very obedient and serviceable to their husbands.

¹ Near the town of San Francisco: it is still called "Drake's Bay."

The news of our being there being spread through the country; the people that inhabited round about came down, and amongst them the King himself, a man of a goodly stature and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose coming were sent two Ambassadors to our General, to signify that their King was coming; in doing of which message, their speech was continued about half an hour. This ended, they by signs requested our General to send something by their hand to their King, as a token that his coming might be in peace: wherein our General having satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King, who marched to us with a princely Majesty, the people crying continually after their manner; and as they drew near unto us, so did they strive to behave themselves in their actions with comeliness.

In coming towards our bulwarks and tents, the sceptre-bearer began a song, observing his measures in a dance, and that with a stately countenance; whom the King with his Guard, and every degree of persons following, did in like manner sing and dance, saving only the women, which danced and kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwark, where they continued their song and dance a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signs to our General to sit down; to whom the King and divers others made several orations, or rather supplications, that he would take their province and kingdom into his hand, and become their King; making signs that they would resign unto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subjects. In which to persuade us the better, the King and the rest, with one consent and with great reverence, joyfully sing-

ing a song, did set the crown upon his head, enriched his neck with all their chains, and offered unto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto, as it seemed, a sign of triumph: which thing our General thought not meet to reject, because he knew not what honour and profit it might be to our country. Wherefore in the name, and to the use of her Majesty, he took the sceptre, crown and dignity of the said Country in his hands; wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might so conveniently be transported to the enriching of her kingdom at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

Our necessary business being ended, our General with his company travelled up into the Country to their villages, where we found herds of Deer by a thousand in a company, being most large and fat of body.

We found the whole country to be a warren of a strange kind of Conies, their bodies in bigness as be the Barbary Conies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feet of a Want, and the tail of a Rat, being of great length: under her chin on either side a bag, into which she gathereth her meat when she hath filled her belly abroad. The people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skins, for their King's coat was made of them.

Our General called this country, Nova Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white banks and cliffs, which lie towards the sea: and the other, because it might have some affinity with our Country in name, which sometime was so called.

There is no part of earth here to be taken up, wherein there is not some special likelihood of gold or silver.

At our departure hence our General set up a monument of our being there; as also of her Majesty's right

and title to the same, namely a plate nailed upon a fair great post, whereupon was engraven her Majesty's name, the day and year of our arrival there, with the free giving up of the Province and people into her Majesty's hands; together with her Highness's picture and arms, in a piece of sixpence of current English money under the plate, where-under was also written the name of our General.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had never been in this part of the country, neither did ever discover the land by many degrees to the Southwards of this place.

After we had set sail from hence, we continued without sight of land till the 13 day of October following; which day in the morning we fell with certain Islands 8 degrees to the Northward of the line¹; from which Islands came a great number of Canoes, having in some of them 4, in some 6, and in some also 14 men, bringing with them cocos, and other fruits.

This people have the nether part of their ears cut into a round circle, hanging down very low upon their cheeks, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The nails of their hands are an inch long; their teeth are as black as pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an herb with a kind of powder, which they always carry about them in a cane for the same purpose.

Leaving this Island the night after we fell with it, the 18 of October, we lighted upon divers others, some whereof made a great show of Inhabitants.

The 14 of November we fell with the Islands of Molucca; which day at night (having directed our course

¹ They had sailed across the Pacific towards the East Indies: the islands were probably the Pelew Islands.

to run with Tydore) in coasting along the Island of Mutyr, belonging to the King of Ternate, his Deputy or Vice-king seeing us at sea, came with his Canoe to us without all fear, and came aboard; and after some conference with our General, willed him in any wise to run in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, assuring him that the King would be glad of his coming, and would be ready to do what he would require; for which purpose he himself would that night be with the King, and tell him the news, with whom if he once dealt, he should find that as he was a King, so his word should stand: adding further, that if he went to Tydore before he came to Ternate, the King would have nothing to do with us, because he held the Portugal as his enemy.¹ Whereupon our General resolved to run with Ternate, where the next morning early we came to anchor; at which time our General sent a messenger to the King with a velvet cloak for a present, and token of his coming to be in peace, and that he required nothing but traffic and exchange of merchandise, whereof he had good store, in such things as he wanted.

Drake stayed on board, but sent "certain of his gentlemen" on shore to meet the King.

The king at last came in, guarded with 12 lances, covered over with a rich canopy, with embossed gold. Our men, accompanied with one of their Captains called Moro, rising to meet him, he graciously did welcome, and entertain them. He was attired after the manner of

¹ The Island of Ternate had been the headquarters of the Portuguese in the Moluccas; but the native Malays had rebelled, had driven them to Tidore, and at the time of Drake's arrival were planning to attack them there.

the country, but more sumptuously than the rest. From his waist down to the ground, was all cloth of gold, and the same very rich: his legs were bare, but on his feet were a pair of shoes, made of Cordovan skin. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hooped rings of gold, and about his neck he had a chain of perfect gold, the links whereof were great, and one fold double. On his fingers he had six very fair jewels; and sitting in his chair of state, at his right hand stood a page with a fan in his hand, breathing and gathering the air to the King. The fan was in length two feet, and in breadth one foot, set with 8 sapphires, richly embroidered, and knit to a staff 3 feet in length, by the which the Page did hold, and move it. Our Gentlemen having delivered their message, and received order accordingly, were licensed to depart, being safely conducted back again by one of the king's Council.

After that our gentlemen were returned, and that we had here by the favour of the king received all necessary things that the place could yield us: our General considering the great distance, and how far he was yet off from his Country, thought it not best here to linger the time any longer; but weighing his anchors, set out of the Island, and sailed to a certain little Island to the Southwards of Celebes, where we graved our ship, and continued there in that and other businesses 26 days. This island is thoroughly grown with wood of a large and high growth, very straight and without boughs, save only in the head or top, whose leaves are not much differing from our broom in England. Amongst these trees, night by night, through the whole land, did show themselves an infinite swarm of fiery worms flying in the air; whose

bodies being no bigger than our common English flies, make such a show and light, as if every twig or tree had been a burning candle. In this place breedeth also wonderful store of Bats, as big as large hens: of Crayfishes also here wanted no plenty, and they of exceeding bigness; one whereof was sufficient for 4 hungry stomachs at a dinner, being also very good, and restoring meat, whereof we had experience: and they dig themselves holes in the earth like Conies.

With great difficulty, having struck a rock which nearly wrecked them, they found a passage through the islands and reached Java.

From Java Major we sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, which was the first land we fell withal: neither did we touch with it, or any other land, until we came to Sierra Leone, upon the coast of Guinea: notwithstanding we ran hard aboard the Cape, finding the report of the Portugals to be most false, who affirm, that it is the most dangerous Cape of the world, never without intolerable storms and present danger to travellers, which come near the same.

This Cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest Cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth; and we passed by it the 18 of June.

From thence we continued our course to Sierra Leone, on the coast of Guinea, where we arrived the 22 of July; and found necessary provisions, great store of Elephants, Oysters upon trees of one kind, spawning and increasing infinitely, the Oyster suffering no bud to grow. We departed thence the 24 day.

We arrived in England the third of November 1580, being the third year of our departure.

VIII. WAR WITH SPAIN

DRAKE ATTACKS THE WEST INDIES

The attack on the "Primrose" and the arrest of English shipping (page 96) were open acts of war: the English replied by sending Drake—now Sir Francis—in supreme command of an army and a fleet, to attack the West Indies. The affair was a brilliant success—"an exploit that filled Europe with amazement." Of the strongly fortified towns that were taken, San Domingo—"one of the chief jewels in the Spanish crown . . . a city of great strength and beauty"—was the seat of government: and Cartagena, the capital of the Spanish Main, was the centre of wealth and trade, and the starting point of the treasure fleets.

The expedition, containing "soldiers and mariners to the number of 2,300," sailed from Plymouth on September 12th, 1585, and, after several skirmishes on the coast of Spain, reached Cape Blanke in Africa.

UPON Saturday in the morning, being the 13 of November, we fell with Cape Blanke, which is a low land and shallow water, where we caught store of fish; and doubling the Cape, we put into the Bay, where we found certain French ships of war, whom we entertained with great courtesy, and there left them. This afternoon the whole fleet assembled, which was a little scattered about their fishing, and put from thence to the Isles of Cape Verde, sailing till the 16 of the same month in the morning, on which day we descried the Island of S. Iago; and in the evening we anchored the fleet between the town called the Playa or Praya, and S. Iago, where we put on shore 1,000 men or more, under the leading of M. Christopher Carliell, Lieutenant-General, who directed the service most like a wise commander. The place where we had first to march did afford no good order, for the ground was mountainous and full of dales, being a very

stony and troublesome passage; but such was his industrious disposition, as he would never leave, until we had gotten up to a fair plain, where we made stand for the assembling of the army. And when we were all gathered together upon the plain, some 2 miles from the town, the Lieutenant-General thought good not to make attempt till daylight: because there was not one that could serve for guide or giving knowledge at all of the place. And therefore, after having well rested, even half an hour before day he commanded the army to be divided into 3 special parts, such as he appointed; whereas before we had marched by several companies, being thereunto forced by the badness of the way as is aforesaid.

Now by the time we were thus ranged into a very brave order, daylight began to appear; and being advanced hard to the wall, we saw no enemy to resist. Whereupon the Lieutenant-General appointed Captain Sampson with thirty shot, and Captain Barton with other thirty, to go down into the town which stood in the valley under us, and might very plainly be viewed all over from that place where the whole army was now arrived. And presently after these Captains was sent the great ensign, which had nothing in it but the plain English cross, to be placed towards the Sea, that our Fleet might see Saint George's cross flourish in the enemies' fortress. Order was given that all the ordnance throughout the town and upon all the platforms, which were above fifty pieces all ready charged, should be shot off in honour of the Queen's Majesty's coronation day, being the seventeenth of November, after the yearly custom of England; which was so answered again by the ordnance out of all the ships in the fleet, which now

was come near, as it was strange to hear such a thundering noise last so long together. In this meanwhile, the Lieutenant-General held still the most part of his force on the hill-top, till such time as the town was quartered out for the lodging of the whole Army: which being done, every captain took his own quarter; and in the evening was placed such a sufficient guard upon every part of the town that we had no cause to fear any present enemy.

Thus we continued in the city the space of 14 days, taking such spoils as the place yielded; which were for the most part, wine, oil, meal, and some such like things for victual, as vinegar, olives, and some such other trash, as merchandise for their Indians' trades. But there was not found any treasure at all, or anything else of worth besides.

On Monday the six and twentieth of November, the General commanded all the pinnaces, with the boats, to use all diligence to embark the Army into such ships as every man belonged. The Lieutenant-General in like sort commanded Captain Goring and Lieutenant Tucker, with one hundred shot, to make a stand in the market-place, until our forces were wholly embarked; the Vice-Admiral making stay with his pinnace and certain boats in the harbour, to bring the said last company aboard the ships. Also the General willed forthwith the galley, with two pinnaces, to take into them the company of Captain Barton, and the company of Captain Bigs, under the leading of Captain Sampson, to seek out such munition as was hidden in the ground, at the town of Praya or Playa, having been promised to be showed it by a prisoner, which was taken the day before.

The Captains aforesaid, coming to the Playa, landed their men; and having placed the troop in their best strength, Captain Sampson took the prisoner, and willed him to show that he had promised, the which he could not, or at least would not: but they, searching all suspected places, found two pieces of ordnance, one of iron, another of brass. In the afternoon the General anchored with the rest of the Fleet before the Playa, coming himself ashore, willing us to burn the town and make all haste aboard; the which was done by six of the clock the same day, and ourselves embarked again the same night; and so we put off to Sea, South-west.

But before our departure from the town of S. Iago, we established orders for the better government of the Army; every man mustered to his captain, and oaths were ministered to acknowledge her Majesty supreme Governor, as also every man to do his uttermost endeavour to advance the service of the action, and to yield due obedience unto the directions of the General and his officers. By this provident counsel, and laying down this good foundation beforehand, all things went forward in a due course, to the achieving of our happy enterprise.

In all the time of our being here, neither the Governor for the King of Spain (which is a Portugall); neither the Bishop, whose authority is great; neither the inhabitants of the town, nor Island ever came at us (which we expected they should have done) to entreat us to leave them some part of their needful provisions, or at the least, to spare the ruining of their town at our going away. The cause of this their unreasonable distrust (as I do take it) was the fresh remembrance of the great wrongs they had done to old M. William Hawkins of

Plimmouth, in the voyage he made 4 or 5 years before, whenas they did both break their promise, and murdered many of his men; whereof I judge you have understood, and therefore it is needless to be repeated. But since they came not at us, we left written in sundry places, as also in the spittle house (which building was only appointed to be spared), the great discontentment and scorn we took at this their refraining to come unto us; as also at the rude manner of killing, and savage kind of handling the dead body of one of our boys found by them straggling all alone, from whom they had taken his head and heart.

In revenge whereof at our departing, we consumed with fire all the houses, as well in the country which we saw, as in the town of S. Iago.

From hence putting off to the West Indies, we were not many days at Sea, but there began among our people such mortality, as in few days there were dead above two or three hundred men. And until some seven or eight days after our coming from S. Iago, there had not died any one man of sickness in all the fleet: the sickness showed not his infection, wherewith-so many were stricken, until we were departed thence, and then seized our people with extreme hot burning and continual agues, whereof very few escaped with life; and yet those for the most part not without great alteration and decay of their wits and strength for a long time after. In some that died were plainly showed the small spots, which are often found upon those that be infected with the plague. We were not above eighteen days in passage between the sight of Saint Iago, aforesaid, and the Island of Dominica, being the first Island of the West Indies that we fell

withal; the same being inhabited with savage people, which go all naked, their skin coloured with some painting of a reddish tawny, very personable and handsome strong men, who do admit little conversation with the Spaniards. For as some of our people might understand them, they had a Spaniard or twain prisoners with them; neither do I think that there is any safety for any of our nation, or any other, to be within the limits of their commandment; albeit they used us very kindly for those few hours of time which we spent with them, helping our folks to fill and carry on their bare shoulders fresh water from the river to our ships' boats, and fetching from their houses great store of Tobacco, as also a kind of bread which they fed on, called Cassava, very white and savoury, made of the roots of Cassava. In recompense whereof, we bestowed liberal rewards of glass, coloured beads, and other things, which we had found at Saint Iago; wherewith (as it seemed) they rested very greatly satisfied, and showed some sorrowful countenance when they perceived that we would depart.

From hence we went to another Island westward of it, called Saint Christopher's Island, wherein we spent some days of Christmas, to refresh our sick people and to cleanse and air our ships. In which Island were not any people at all that we could hear of.

In which time, by the General it was advised and resolved, with the consent of the Lieutenant-General, the Vice-Admiral, and all the rest of the Captains, to proceed to the great Island of Hispaniola; as well for that we knew ourselves then to be in our best strength, as also the rather allured thereunto, by the glorious fame of the city of S. Domingo, being the ancientest and chief in-

habited place in all the tract of Country thereabouts. And so proceeding in this determination, by the way we met a small Frigate bound for the same place, the which the Vice-Admiral took: and having duly examined the men that were in her, there was one found, by whom we were advertised, the Haven to be a barren Haven; and the shore or land thereof to be well fortified, having a Castle thereupon, furnished with great store of Artillery, without the danger whereof was no convenient landing-place within ten English miles of the City, to which the said Pilot took upon him to conduct us.

All things being thus considered on, the whole forces were commanded in the Evening to embark themselves in Pinnaces, boats, and other small barques appointed for this service. Our soldiers being thus embarked, the General put himself into the barque Francis as Admiral, and all this night we lay on the sea, bearing small sail until our arrival to the landing-place, which was about the breaking of the day; and so we landed, being New Year's Day, nine or ten miles to the Westwards of that brave City of S. Domingo: for at that time, nor yet, is known to us any landing-place, where the sea-surge doth not threaten to overset a Pinnace or boat. Our General, having seen us all landed in safety, returned to his Fleet, bequeathing us to God, and the good conduct of Master Carliell our Lieutenant-General: at which time, being about eight of the clock, we began to march, and about noon-time, or towards one of the clock, we approached the town, where the Gentlemen and those of the better sort, being some hundred and fifty brave horses or rather more, began to present themselves. But our small shot played upon them, which were so sustained with good

proportion of pikes in all parts, as they finding no part of our troop unprepared to receive them (for you must understand they viewed all round about) they were thus driven to give us leave to proceed towards the two gates of the town, which were the next to sea-ward. They had manned them both, and planted their ordnance for that present and sudden alarm without the gate, and also some troops of small shot in Ambuscade upon the highway-side. We divided our whole force, being some thousand or twelve hundred men, into two parts, to enter-prise both the gates at one instant; the Lieutenant-General having openly vowed to Captain Powel (who led the troop that entered the other gate) that with God's good favour he would not rest until our meeting in the market-place.

Their ordnance had no sooner discharged upon our near approach, and made some execution amongst us, though not much, but the Lieutenant-General began forthwith to advance both his voice of encouragement and pace of marching: the first man that was slain with the ordnance being very near unto himself: and thereupon hasted all that he might, to keep them from the re-charging of the ordnance. And notwithstanding their Ambuscades, we marched, or rather ran, so roundly into them, as pell-mell we entered the gates, and gave them more care every man to save himself by flight, than reason to stand any longer to their broken fight. We forthwith repaired to the market-place: but to be more truly understood, a place of very fair, spacious, square ground, whither also came, as had been agreed, Captain Powel with the other troop: which place, with some part next unto it, we strengthened with Barricades, and there as

the most convenient place assured ourselves, the City being far too spacious for so small and weary a troop to undertake to guard. Somewhat after midnight, they who had the guard of the Castle, hearing us busy about the gates of the said Castle, abandoned the same: some being taken prisoners, and some fleeing away by the help of boats to the other side of the Haven, and so into the country.

The next day we quartered a little more at large, but not into the half part of the town; and so making substantial trenches, and planting all the ordnance, that each part was correspondent to other, we held this town the space of one month.

In this time also passed many treaties between their Commissioners and us, for ransom of their City; but upon disagreements we still spent the early mornings in firing the outmost houses: but they, being built very magnificently of stone, with high lofts, gave us no small travail to ruin them. And albeit, for divers days together we ordained each morning by daybreak, until the heat began at nine of the clock, that two hundred Mariners did nought else but labour to fire and burn the said houses without our trenches, whilst the soldiers in a like proportion stood forth for their guard: yet did we not, or could not, in this time consume so much as one-third part of the town. And so in the end, what wearied with firing, and what hastened by some other respects, we were contented to accept of five and twenty thousand Ducats of five shillings sixpence the piece, for the ransom of the rest of the town.

Now to the satisfying of some men, who marvel greatly that such a famous and goodly-built City, so well

inhabited of gallant people, very brave in their apparel (whereof our soldiers found good store for their relief) should afford no greater riches than were found there: herein it is to be understood that the Indian people, which were the naturals of this whole Island of Hispaniola (the same being near-hand as great as England) were many years since, clean consumed by the tyranny of the Spaniards; which was the cause, that for lack of people to work in the Mines, the gold and silver Mines of this Island are wholly given over, and thereby they are fain in this Island to use Copper money, whereof was found very great quantity. The chief trade of this place consisteth of Sugar and Ginger, which groweth in the Island, and of Hides of oxen and kine, which in this waste country of the Island are bred in infinite numbers, the soil being very fertile: and the said beasts are fed up to a very large growth, and so killed for nothing so much, as for their Hides aforesaid. We found here great store of strong wine, sweet oil, vinegar, olives, and other such-like provisions; as excellent Wheatmeal packed up in wine-pipes and other cask, and other commodities likewise; as Woollen and Linen cloth, and some silks: all which provisions are brought out of Spaine, and served us for great relief. There was but a little Plate or vessel of Silver, in comparison of the great pride in other things of this town, because in these hot Countries they use much of those earthen dishes finely painted or varnished, which they call Porcelain, which is had out of the East India. And for their drinking, they use glasses altogether, whereof they make excellent good and fair in the same place. But yet some plate we found, and many other good things; as their household garniture, very gallant

and rich, which had cost them dear, although unto us they were of small importance.

From Saint Domingo we put over to the main or firm land, and going all along the coast, we came at last in sight of Cartagena, standing upon the sea-side, so near, as some of our barques in passing along, approached within the reach of their Culverin shot, which they had planted upon certain platforms. The harbour mouth lay some three miles toward the Westward of the town, whereinto we entered about three or four of the clock in the afternoon, without any resistance of ordnance, or other impeachment planted upon the same. In the Evening we put ourselves on land towards the harbour mouth, under the leading of Master Carliell, our Lieutenant-General; who after he had digested us to march forward about midnight, as easily as foot might fall, expressly commanded us to keep close by the sea-wash of the shore for our best and surest way, whereby we were like to go through, and not to miss any more of the way; which once we had lost within an hour after our first beginning to march, through the slender knowledge of him that took upon him to be our guide, whereby the night spent on, which otherwise must have been done by resting. But as we came within some two miles of the town, their horsemen, which were some hundred, met us, and taking the alarm, retired to their townward again upon the first volley of our shot that was given them: for the place where we encountered being woody and bushy even to the water-side, was unmeet for their service.

At this instant we might hear some pieces of Artillery discharged, with divers small shot, towards the harbour; which gave us to understand, according to the order set

down in the Evening before by our General, that the Vice-Admiral accompanied with Captain Venner, Captain White, and Captain Crosse, with other sea Captains, and with divers Pinnaces and boats, should give some attempt unto the little Fort standing on the entry of the inner Haven, near adjoining to the town; though to small purpose, for that the place was strong, and the entry, very narrow, was chained over: so as there could be nothing gotten by the attempt, more than the giving of them an alarm on that other side of the Haven, being a mile and a half from the place we now were at. In which attempt the Vice-Admiral had the rudder of his skiff stricken through with a Saker shot, and a little or no harm received elsewhere.

The troops being now in their march, half a mile be-hither the Town or less, the ground we were on grew to be straight, and not above fifty paces over; having the main Sea on the one side of it, and the harbour-water or inner sea (as you may term it) on the other side, which in the plot is plainly showed. This straight was fortified clean over with a stone wall and a ditch without it: the said wall being as orderly built with flanking in every part, as can be set down. There was only so much of this straight unwalled, as might serve for the issuing of the horsemen, or the passing of carriage in time of need: but this unwalled part was not without a very good Barricade of wine-butts or pipes, filled with earth, full and thick as they might stand on end one by another, some part of them standing even within the main sea.

This place of strength was furnished with six great pieces, Demi-culverins, and Sakers, which shot directly in front upon us as we approached. Now without this

wall, upon the inner side of the straight, they had brought likewise two great Galleys with their prows to the shore, having planted in them eleven pieces of ordnance, which did beat all cross the straight, and flanked our coming on. In these two Galleys were planted three or four hundred small shot, and on the land, in the guard only of this place, three hundred shot and pikes.

They, in this their full readiness to receive us, spared not their shot both great and small. But our Lieutenant-General, taking the advantage of the dark (the daylight as yet not broken out) approached by the lowest ground, according to the express direction which himself had formerly given, the same being the sea-wash shore, where the water was somewhat fallen; so as most of all their shot was in vain. Our Lieutenant-General commanded our shot to forbear shooting until we were come to the wall side; and so, with pikes roundly together, we approached the place, where we soon found out the Baricades of pipes or butts to be the meetest place for our assault; which, notwithstanding it was well furnished with pikes and shot, was without staying attempted by us. Down went the butts of earth, and pell-mell came our swords and pikes together, after our shot had first given their volley, even at the enemies' nose. Our pikes were somewhat longer than theirs, and our bodies better armoured; for very few of them were armoured; with which advantage our swords and pikes grew too hard for them, and they driven to give place. In this furious entry, the Lieutenant-General slew with his own hands the chief Ensign-bearer of the Spaniards, who fought very manfully to his life's end.

We followed into the town with them, and giving

them no leisure to breathe, we won the Market-place, albeit they made head, and fought awhile before we got it; and so we being once seized¹ and assured of that, they were content to suffer us to lodge within their town, and themselves to go to their wives, whom they had carried into other places of the country before our coming thither.

At every street's end they had raised very fine Barri-cades of earth-works, with trenches without them, as well made as ever we saw any work done: at the entering whereof was some little resistance, but soon overcome it was, with few slain or hurt. They had joined with them many Indians, whom they had placed in corners of advantage, all bowmen, with their arrows most villainously empoisoned, so as if they did but break the skin, the party so touched died without great marvel. Some they slew of our people with their arrows: some they likewise mischieved to death with certain pricks of small sticks sharply pointed, of a foot and a half long, the one end put into the ground, the other empoisoned, sticking fast up, right against our coming in the way, as we should approach from our landing towards the town; whereof they had planted a wonderful number in the ordinary way: but our keeping the sea-wash shore missed the greatest part of them very happily.

I overpass many particular matters, as the hurting of Captain Samson at sword blows in the first entering, unto whom was committed the charge of the pikes of the Vant-guard by his lot and turn; as also of the taking of Alonso Bravo the chief commander of that place, by Captain Goring, after the said Captain had first hurt him with

¹ In possession of.

his sword: unto which Captain was committed the charge of the shot of the said Vanguard.

We stayed here six weeks, and the sickness with mortality before spoken of, still continued among us, though not with the same fury as at the first: and such as were touched with the said sickness, escaping death, very few, or almost none, could recover their strength: yea, many of them were much decayed in their memory, insomuch that it was grown an ordinary judgment, when one was heard to speak foolishly, to say he had been sick of the Calentura, which is the Spanish name of their burning ague: for as I told you before, it is a very burning and pestilent ague. The original cause thereof, is imputed to the Evening or first night air, which they term La Serena; wherein they say and hold very firm opinion, that whoso is then abroad in the open air, shall certainly be infected to the death, not being of the Indian or natural race of those country people. By holding their watch, our men were thus subjected to the infectious air, which at S. Iago was most dangerous and deadly of all other places.

With the inconvenience of continual mortality, we were forced to give over our intended enterprise to go with Nombre de Dios, and so overland to Panama, where we should have stricken the stroke for the treasure, and full recompense of our tedious travels. And thus at Cartagena we took our first resolution to return homewards.

After leaving Cartagena they destroyed a fortified Spanish settlement at Saint Augustine in Florida, and sailing North along the American coast, rescued Ralph Lane's colony in Virginia (page 277). They reached Portsmouth "in good safety, the 28 of July 1586, to the great glory of God, and to no small honour to our Prince, our Country and ourselves."

DRAKE SINGES THE KING OF SPAIN'S BEARD

Drake's famous raid on the harbour of Cadiz, made in 1587, did immense damage to the Spanish preparations for the invasion of England and seriously impaired the efficiency of the Armada, which sailed in the following year. Cadiz was the principal naval base of Spain, and in it lay the most powerful fleet of galleys in the world. Galleys were the slave-driven oared battleships which had won every fight at sea since the days of the ancient Greeks. Drake went in "to fight the dragon in the dragon's lair," and his victory proved that these vessels were almost helpless against the heavy guns of the English sailing ships. "The history of the world was altered in an hour. The era of galley warfare was ended."

HER Majesty being informed of a mighty preparation by Sea begun in Spain for the invasion of England, by good advice of her grave and prudent Council thought it expedient to prevent the same. Whereupon she caused a Fleet of some 30 sails to be rigged and furnished with all things necessary. Over that Fleet she appointed General, Sir Francis Drake (of whose manifold former good services she had sufficient proof) to whom she caused 4 ships of her Navy royal to be delivered; to wit, The Bonaventure wherein himself went as General; the Lion under the conduct of Master William Borough, Controllor of the Navy; the Dreadnought under the command of M. Thomas Venner; and the Rainbow, captain whereof was M. Henry Bellingham: unto which 4 ships, two of her pinnaces were appointed as hand-maids. There were also added unto this Fleet certain tall ships of the City of London, of whose especial good service the General made particular mention in his private Letters directed to her Majesty. This Fleet set sail



Cadiz and the Armada Campaign

from the Sound of Plimouth in the month of April towards the coast of Spain.

The 16 of the said month, we met in the latitude of 40 degrees with two ships of Middleborough, which came from Cadiz; by which we understood that there was great store of warlike provision at Cadiz and thereabout, ready to come for Lisbon. Upon this information, our General with all speed possible, bending himself thither to cut off their said forces and provisions, upon the 19 of April entered with his Fleet into the Harbour of Cadiz: where at our first entering we were assailed over against the Town by six Galleys; which notwithstanding in short time retired under their fortress.

There were in the Road 60 ships, and divers other small vessels, under the fortress: there fled about 20 French ships to Port Real,¹ and some small Spanish vessels that might pass the shoals. At our first coming in, we sunk with our shot a ship of Ragusa of 1,000 tons, furnished with 40 pieces of brass, and very richly laden. There came two Galleys more from S. Mary Port,¹ and two from Port Real, which shot freely at us, but altogether in vain: they went away with the blows, well beaten for their pains.

Before night we had taken 30 of the said ships, and became Masters of the Road, in despite of the Galleys, which were glad to retire them under the Fort: in the number of which ships there was one new ship of an extraordinary hugeness, in burden above 1,200 tons, belonging to the Marquis of Santa Cruz, being at that

¹ Port Saint Mary stood on the outer, and Port Real (Royal) on the inner harbour of Cadiz. Both were so well protected by shoals that Drake's ships could not approach them.

instant High Admiral of Spain. Five of them were great ships of Biskay, whereof 4 we fired, as they were taking in the King's provision of victuals for the furnishing of his Fleet at Lisbon: the fifth being a ship about 1,000 tons in burden, laden with iron-spikes, nails, iron hoops, horse-shoes, and other like necessities bound for the West Indies, we fired in like manner. Also we took a ship of 250 tons laden with wines for the King's provision, which we carried out to the Sea with us, and there discharged the said wines for our own store, and afterward set her on fire. Moreover we took 3 Fly-boats of 300 tons apiece, laden with biscuit; whereof one was half unladen by us in the Harbour, and there fired, and the other two we took in our company to the Sea. Likewise there were fired by us ten other ships which were laden with wine, raisins, figs, oils, wheat, and such like. To conclude, the whole number of ships and barques (as we suppose) then burnt, sunk, and brought away with us, amounted to 30 at the least, being (in our judgment) about 10,000 tons of shipping.

There were in sight of us at Port Real about 40 ships, besides those that fled from Cadiz.

We found little ease during our abode there, by reason of their continual shooting from the Galleys, the fortresses, and from the shore: where continually at places convenient they planted new ordnance to offend us with: besides the inconvenience which we suffered from their ships, which, when they could defend no longer, they set on fire to come among us. Whereupon when the flood came we were not a little troubled to defend us from their terrible fire; which nevertheless was a pleasant sight for us to behold, because we were thereby eased of a

great labour, which lay upon us day and night, in discharging the victuals and other provisions of the enemy. Thus, by the assistance of the Almighty, and the invincible courage and industry of our General, this strange and happy enterprise was achieved in one day and two nights; to the great astonishment of the King of Spain, which bred such a corrosive in the heart of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, High Admiral of Spain, that he never enjoyed good day after, but within few months (as may justly be supposed) died of extreme grief and sorrow.

Thus having performed this notable service, we came out of the Road of Cadiz on the Friday morning the 21 of the said month of April, with very small loss not worth the mentioning.

After our departure ten of the Galleys that were in the Road came out, as it were in disdain of us, to make some pastime with their ordnance; at which time the wind scanted upon us, whereupon we cast about again, and stood in with the shore, and came to anchor within a league of the town; where the said Galleys, for all their former bragging, at length suffered us to ride quietly.

We now have had experience of Galley-fight: wherein I can assure you, that only these 4 of her Majesty's ships will make no account of 20 Galleys, if they may be alone, and not busied to guard others. There were never Galleys that had better place, and fitter opportunity for their advantage, to fight with ships: but they were still forced to retire, we riding in a narrow gut, the place yielding no better, and driven to maintain the same, until we had discharged and fired the ships; which could not conveniently be done but upon the flood, at which time they might drive clear of us. Thus, being victualled with

bread and wine at the enemy's cost for divers months (besides the provisions that we brought from home), our General dispatched Captain Crosse into England with his letters; giving him further in charge to declare unto her Majesty all the particularities of this our first enterprise.

After whose departure we shaped our course toward Cape Sagres; and in the way thither we took several times of ships, barques, and Caravels well near an hundred, laden with hoops, galley-oars, pipe-staves, and other provisions of the King of Spain, for the furnishing of his forces intended against England; all which we burned, having dealt favourably with the men and sent them on shore. We also spoiled and consumed all the fisher-boats and nets thereabouts, to their great hindrance: and (as we suppose) to the utter overthrow of the rich fishing of their Tunnies for the same year. At length we came to the aforesaid Cape Sagres, where we went on land; and the better to enjoy the benefit of the place, and to ride in harbour at our pleasure, we assailed the same castle, and three other strongholds, which we took; some by force, and some by surrender.

Thence we came before the haven of Lisbon, anchoring near unto Cascaes, where the Marquis of Santa Cruz was with his Galleys; who seeing us chase his ships ashore, and take and carry away his barques and Caravels, was content to suffer us there quietly to tarry, and likewise to depart, and never charged us with one Cannon-shot. And when our General sent him word that he was there ready to exchange certain bullets with him, the Marquis refused his challenge, sending him word, that he was not then ready for him, nor had any such Commission from his King.

Our General thus refused by the Marquis, and seeing no more good to be done in this place, thought it convenient to spend no longer time upon this coast: and therefore, with consent of the chief of his Company, he shaped his course toward the Isles of the Azores; and passing towards the Isle of Saint Michael, within 20 or 30 leagues thereof, it was his good fortune to meet with a Portugale Carack called Saint Philip, being the same ship which in the voyage outward had carried the 3 Princes of Japan, that were in Europe, into the Indies. This Carack without any great resistance he took, bestowing the people thereof in certain vessels well furnished with victuals, and sending them courteously home into their Country: and this was the first Carack that ever was taken, coming forth of the East Indies; which the Portugals took for an evil sign, because the ship bare the King's own name.

The riches of this prize seemed so great unto the whole Company (as in truth it was) that they assured themselves every man to have a sufficient reward for his travail: and thereupon they all resolved to return home for England: which they happily did, and arrived in Plimouth the same Summer with their whole Fleet and this rich booty, to their own profit and due commendation, and to the great admiration of the whole kingdom.

And here by the way it is to be noted, that the taking of this Carack wrought two extraordinary effects in England: first, that it taught others, that Caracks were no such bugs but that they might be taken (as since indeed it hath fallen out in the taking of the Madre de Dios, and firing and sinking of others); and secondly in acquainting the English Nation more generally with the particu-

larities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the East Indies: whereby themselves and their neighbours of Holland have been encouraged, being men as skilful in Navigation and of no less courage than the Portugals, to share with them in the East Indies: where their strength is nothing so great as heretofore hath been supposed.

THE ARMADA: PREPARATIONS

The refusal, by the Spanish and the Portuguese, to allow the ships of other nations to sail and trade upon the known seas of the world, had driven Englishmen to the exploration of the Polar regions: at the same time, while the passage of these regions was proving to be impossible, Hawkins and Drake were forcing the issue by their ventures in the West Indies and in the Pacific. The war was thus, in its beginnings, a fight for the freedom of the seas. But it was more than this: it was a war for the preservation or destruction of the Protestant religion; and, when the Armada sailed, it became a battle for the very life of England. The following account of the "Invincible" or "Fortunate" Armada brings out clearly the main plan of attack. This great fleet was designed, not primarily for the invasion of England, but as a guard for the crossing of an army. A great soldier, the Duke of Parma, was waiting with his troops in the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium); and the intention was that the ships of the Armada should form an avenue across the Channel, down the centre of which these troops could be ferried over in safety.

HAVING in part declared the strange and wonderful events of the year eighty eight, which hath been so long time foretold by ancient prophecies; we will now make relation of the most notable and great enterprise of all others which were in the foresaid year achieved, in order as it

was done. Which exploit (although in very deed it was not performed in any part of the Low Countries) was intended for their ruin and destruction. And it was the expedition which the Spanish King, having a long time determined the same in his mind, and having consulted thereabout with the Pope, set forth and undertook against England and the Low Countries. To the end that he might subdue the Realm of England, and reduce it unto his catholic Religion, and by that means might be sufficiently revenged for the disgrace, contempt and dishonour, which he had endured of the English nation, and for divers other injuries which had taken deep impression in his thoughts.

Moreover the Spaniards were of opinion, that it would be far more behoveful for their King to conquer England and the Low Countries all at once, than to be constrained continually to maintain a warlike Navy to defend his East and West Indie Fleets, from the English Drake, and from such like valiant enemies.

And for the same purpose, the King Catholic had given commandment long before in Italy and Spain, that a great quantity of timber should be felled for the building of ships; and had besides made great preparation of things and furniture requisite for such an expedition; as, namely, in founding of brazen Ordnance, in storing up of corn and victuals, in training of men to use warlike weapons, in levying and mustering of soldiers: insomuch that about the beginning of the year 1588 he had finished such a mighty Navy, and brought it into Lisbon haven, as never the like had before that time sailed upon the Ocean sea.

All the ships appertaining to this Navy amounted unto

the sum of 150, each one being sufficiently provided of furniture and victuals.

The number of Mariners in the said Fleet were above 8,000; of slaves 2,088; of soldiers 20,000 (beside noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries); of great cast pieces 2,650. The foresaid ships were of an huge and incredible capacity and receipt. For the whole Fleet was large enough to contain the burden of 60 thousand tons.

The Galleons were 64 in number, being of a huge bigness, and very stately built; being of marvellous force also, and so high, that they resembled great castles, most fit to defend themselves and to withstand any assault, but in giving any other ships the encounter far inferior unto the English and Dutch ships, which can with great dexterity wield and turn themselves at all assays. The upperwork of the said Galleons was of thickness and strength sufficient to bear off musket-shot. The lower work and the timbers thereof were out of measure strong, being framed of planks and ribs four or five foot in thickness, insomuch that no bullets could pierce them, but such as were discharged hard at hand: which afterward proved true, for a great number of bullets were found to stick fast within the massy substance of those thick planks. Great and well-pitched Cables were twined about the masts of their ships, to strengthen them against the battery of shot.

The Galliasses were of such bigness, that they contained within them chambers, chapels, turrets, pulpits, and other commodities of great houses. The Galliasses were rowed with great oars, there being in each one of them 300 slaves for the same purpose, and were able to do great service with the force of their Ordnance. All

these, together with the residue aforementioned, were furnished and beautified with trumpets, streamers, banners, warlike ensigns, and other such like ornaments.

Their pieces of brazen ordnance were 1,600 and of iron a 1,000.

The bullets thereto belonging were 120 thousand.

Item of gunpowder 5,600 quintals. Of match 1,200 quintals.

Of muskets and calivers 7,000. Of halberts and partisans 10,000.

Moreover they had great store of cannons, double-cannons, culverins and field-pieces for land services.

Likewise they were provided of all instruments necessary on land to convey and transport their furniture from place to place; as namely of carts, wheels, wagons, etc. Also they had spades, mattocks and baskets to set pioneers on work. They had in like sort great store of mules and horses, and whatsoever else was requisite for a land-army.

The general of this mighty Navy, was Don Alonso Perez de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, Lord of San Lucar, and Knight of the Golden Fleece.

John Martines de Ricalde was Admiral of the Fleet.

Francis Bobadilla was Chief Marshal: who all of them had their officers fit and requisite for the guiding and managing of such a multitude.

While the Spaniards were furnishing this their Navy, the Duke of Parma, at the direction of King Philip, made great preparation in the Low Countries, to give aid and assistance unto the Spaniards; building ships for the same purpose, and sending for Pilots and ship-wrights out of Italy.

In Flanders he caused certain deep channels to be made, and among the rest the channel of Yper commonly called Yper-lee, employing some thousands of workmen about that service: to the end that by the said channel he might transport ships from Antwerp and Ghent to Bruges, where he had assembled above a hundred small ships called hoys, being well stored with victuals; which hoys he was determined to have brought into the sea by the way of Sluis, or else to have conveyed them by the said Yper-lee, being now of greater depth, into any port of Flanders whatsoever.

In the River of Watten he caused 70 ships with flat bottoms to be built, every one of which should serve to carry 30 horses, having each of them bridges likewise for the horses to come on board, or to go forth on land. Of the same fashion he had provided 200 other vessels at Nieuport, but not so great. And at Dunkirk he procured 28 ships of war, such as were there to be had; and caused a sufficient number of Mariners to be levied at Hamburg, Bremen, Emden, and at other places. He put in the ballast of the said ships, great store of beams of thick planks, being hollow and beset with iron pikes beneath, but on each side full of clasps and hooks, to join them together.

He had likewise at Gravelines provided 20 thousand of cask, which in a short space might be compact and joined together with nails and cords, and reduced into the form of a bridge. To be short, whatsoever things were requisite for the making of bridges, and for the barring and stopping up of havens' mouths with stakes, posts, and other means, he commanded to be made ready. Moreover not far from Nieuport Haven, he had caused

a great pile of wooden faggots to be laid, and other furniture to be brought for the rearing up of a mount. The most part of his ships contained two ovens apiece to bake bread in; with a great number of saddles, bridles, and such other like apparel for horses. They had horses likewise, which after their landing, should serve to convey, and draw engines, field-pieces, and other warlike provisions.

Near unto Nieuport he had assembled an army, over the which he had ordained Camillo de Monte to be Camp-master. This army consisted of 30 bands or ensigns of Italians, of ten bands of Walloons, eight of Scots, and eight of Burgundians; all which together amount unto 56 bands, every band containing a hundred persons. Near unto Dixmude there were mustered 80 bands of Dutch men, sixty of Spaniards, six of high Germans, and seven bands of English fugitives, under the conduct of Sir William Stanley an English knight.

In the suburbs of Courtrai there were 4,000 horsemen, together with their horses, in a readiness: and at Watten, 900 horses, with the troop of the Marquis del Gwasto, Captain-General of the horsemen.

But that all matters might be performed with greater secrecy, and that the whole expedition might seem rather to be intended against the Low Countries, than against England; and that the English people might be persuaded that all was but bare words and threatenings, and that nought would come to effect, there was a solemn meeting appointed for a treaty of peace between her Majesty and the Spanish King.

Against which treaty the United Provinces making open protestation, used all means possible to hinder it;

alleging that it was more requisite to consult how the enemy now pressing upon them might be repelled from off their frontiers. Howbeit, some there were in England that greatly urged and prosecuted this league, saying, that it would be very commodious unto the state of the realm, as well in regard of traffic and navigation, as for the avoiding of great expenses to maintain the wars; affirming also, that at the same time peace might easily and upon reasonable conditions be obtained of the Spaniard. Others thought by this means to divert some other way, or to keep back, the navy now coming upon them, and so to escape the danger of that tempest. Howsoever it was, the Duke of Parma by these wiles enchanted and dazzled the eyes of many English and Dutch men that were desirous of peace. Whereupon it came to pass, that England and the United Provinces prepared indeed some defence to withstand that dreadful expedition and huge Armada, but nothing in comparison of the great danger which was to be feared; albeit the constant report of the whole expedition had continued rife among them for a long time before. Howbeit they gave ear unto the relation of certain that said, that this navy was provided to conduct and waft over the Indian Fleets : which seemed the more probable because the Spaniards were deemed not to be men of so small discretion as to adventure those huge and monstrous ships upon the shallow and dangerous channel of England.

At length, when-as the French King about the end of May, signified unto her Majesty in plain terms that she should stand upon her guard, because he was now most certainly informed, that there was so dangerous an invasion imminent upon her realm, that he feared much

lest all her land and sea-forces would be sufficient to withstand it, etc.:—then began the Queen's Majesty more carefully to gather her forces together, and to furnish her own ships of war, and the principal ships of her subjects with soldiers, weapons, and other necessary provision. The greatest and strongest ships of the whole navy she sent unto Plymouth, under the conduct of the Right Honourable Lord Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, etc. Under whom the renowned Knight Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-admiral. The number of these ships was about a hundred. The lesser ships being 30 or 40 in number, and under the conduct of the Lord Henry Seymour, were commanded to lie between Dover and Calais.¹

On land likewise throughout the whole realm, soldiers were mustered and trained in all places, and were committed unto the most resolute and faithful captains. And whereas it was commonly given out that the Spaniard, having once united himself unto the Duke of Parma, meant to invade by the River of Thames; there was at Tilbury in Essex over-against Gravesend, a mighty army encamped, and on both sides of the river fortifications were erected. Likewise there were certain ships brought to make a bridge, though it were very late first. Unto the said army came in proper person the Queen's most royal Majesty, representing Tomyris that Scythian warlike Princess, or rather divine Pallas herself. Also there were other such armies levied in England.

The Provinces of Holland and Zeland, etc., giving

¹ Seymour was left in command of a strong squadron to prevent the Duke of Parma from crossing the channel while the main English fleet was engaging the Armada.

credit unto their intelligence out of Spain, made preparation to defend themselves: but because the Spanish ships were described unto them to be so huge, they relied partly upon the shallow and dangerous seas all along their coasts. Wherefore they stood most in doubt of the Duke of Parma, his small and flat-bottomed ships. Howbeit they had all their ships of war to the number of 90 and above, in a readiness for all assays: the greater part whereof were of a small burden, as being more meet to sail upon their rivers and shallow seas: and with these ships they besieged all the havens in Flanders, beginning at the mouth of Scheldt, or from the town of Lille, and holding on to Gravelines and almost unto Calais; and fortified all their sea-towns with strong garrisons.

Against the Spanish fleet's arrival, they had provided 25 or 30 good ships, committing the government of them unto Admiral Lonck, whom they commanded to join himself unto the Lord Henry Seymour, lying between Dover and Calais. And when, as the foresaid ships, (whereof the greater part besieged the haven of Dunkirk) were driven by tempest into Zeland, Justin of Nassau, the Admiral of Zeland, supplied that squadron with 35 ships, being of no great burden, but excellently furnished with guns, mariners and soldiers in great abundance; and especially with 1,200 brave Musketeers, having been accustomed unto sea-fights, and being chosen out of all their companies for the same purpose. And so the said Justin of Nassau kept such diligent ward in that Station, that the Duke of Parma could not issue forth with his navy into the sea out of any part of Flanders.

THE ARMADA SAILS: THE FIGHT OFF PLYMOUTH

In the fight off Plymouth the Spaniards threw away their greatest opportunity: they never had another. The English ships were in harbour, and were taken completely by surprise: the Armada, with the wind behind it, could have overwhelmed them as they put to sea, one by one with great difficulty against the wind; or could have attacked as they lay almost helpless in harbour. The danger was extreme, and it was only by brilliant seamanship that the English fleet succeeded in getting out to sea and working round behind the enemy. They drove them past Plymouth, along the channel, and the chance of a decisive Spanish victory was gone.

In the meanwhile the Spanish Armada set sail out of the Haven of Lisbon upon the 19 of May, An. Dom. 1588, under the conduct of the Duke of Medina Sidonia; directing their course for the Bay of Corunna, alias the Groine of Gallicia, where they took in soldiers and warlike provision; this port being in Spain the nearest unto England. As they were sailing along, there arose such a mighty tempest, that the whole Fleet was dispersed, so that when the Duke was returned unto his company, he could not escry above 80 ships in all; whereunto the residue by little and little joined themselves, except eight which had their masts blown overboard. One of the four galleys of Portingal escaped very hardly, retiring herself into the haven. The other three were, upon the coast of Bayonne in France, by the assistance and courage of one David Gwin an English captive (whom the French and Turkish slaves aided in the same enterprise) utterly disabled and vanquished: one of the three being first overcome, which conquered the two other, with

the slaughter of their governors and soldiers: and so those slaves arriving in France with the three Galleys, set themselves at liberty.

The navy having refreshed themselves at the Groine, and receiving daily commandment from the King to hasten their journey, hoisted up sails the 11 day of July; and so holding on their course till the 19 of the same month, they came then unto the mouth of the narrow seas or English Channel. From whence (striking their sails in the mean season) they dispatched certain of their small ships unto the Duke of Parma. At the same time the Spanish Fleet was escried by an English pinnace, captain whereof was M. Thomas Fleming, after they had been advertised of the Spaniard's expedition by their scouts and espials, which having ranged along the coast of Spaine, were lately returned home into Plymouth for a new supply of victuals and other necessities; who, considering the foresaid tempest, were of opinion that the navy being of late dispersed and tossed up and down the main Ocean, was by no means able to perform their intended voyage.

Moreover, the Lord Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, had received letters from the court, signifying unto him that her Majesty was advertised that the Spanish Fleet would not come forth, nor was to be any longer expected for; and therefore, that upon her Majesty's commandment he must send back four of her tallest and strongest ships unto Chatham.

The Lord High Admiral of England, being thus on the sudden, namely upon the 19 of July about four of the clock in the afternoon, informed by the pinnace of Captain Fleming aforesaid, of the Spaniards' approach—with all

speed and diligence possible he warped his ships, and caused his mariners and soldiers (the greater part of whom was absent for the cause aforesaid) to come on board, and that with great trouble and difficulty. Insomuch that the Lord Admiral himself was fain to lie without in the road, with six ships only all that night; after the which many others came forth of the haven. The very next day, being the 20 of July about high noon, was the Spanish Fleet escried by the English, which with a South-west wind came sailing along, and passed by Plymouth. In which regard (according to the judgment of many skilful navigators) they greatly overshot themselves; whereas it had been more commodious for them to have stayed themselves there, considering that the Englishmen being as yet unprovided, greatly relied upon their own forces, and knew not the estate of the Spanish navy. Moreover, this was the most convenient port of all others, where they might with greater security have been advertised of the English forces, and how the commons of the land stood affected, and might have stirred up some mutiny; so that hither they should have bent all their puissance, and from hence the Duke of Parma might more easily have conveyed his ships.

But this they were prohibited to do by the King and his council, and were expressly commanded to unite themselves unto the soldiers and ships of the said Duke of Parma, and so to bring their purpose to effect. Which was thought to be the most easy and direct course; for that they imagined that the English and Dutch men would be utterly daunted and dismayed thereat, and would each man of them retire unto his own Province and Port for the defence thereof; and transporting the army of the

Duke under the protection of their huge navy, they might invade England.

It is reported that the chief commanders in the navy, and those which were more skilful in navigation, to wit, John Martines de Ricalde, Diego Flores de Valdez, and divers others, found fault that they were bound unto so strict directions and instructions, because that in such a case many particular accidents ought to concur and to be respected at one and the same instant; that is to say, the opportunity of the wind, weather, time, tide, and ebb, wherein they might sail from Flanders to England. Oftentimes also the darkness and light, the situation of places, the depths and shoals were to be considered: all which especially depended upon the convenience of the winds, and were by so much the more dangerous.

But it seemeth that they were enjoined by their commission to anchor near unto, or about Calais, whither the Duke of Parma with his ships and all his warlike provision was to resort, and while the English and Spanish great ships were in the midst of their conflict, to pass by, and to land his soldiers upon the Downs.

The Spanish captives reported that they were determined first to have entered the River of Thames, and thereupon to have passed with small ships up to London, supposing that they might easily win that rich and flourishing City being but meanly fortified and inhabited with Citizens not accustomed to the wars, who durst not withstand their first encounter, hoping moreover to find many rebels against her Majesty and popish catholics, or some favourers of the Scottish Queen (which was not long before most justly beheaded) who might be instruments of sedition.

Thus, often advertising the Duke of Parma of their approach, the 20 of July they passed by Plymouth, which the English ships pursuing and getting the wind of them, gave them the chase and the encounter, and so both Fleets frankly exchanged their bullets.

The day following which was the 21 of July, the English ships approached within musket shot of the Spanish: at what time the Lord Charles Howard most hotly and valiantly discharged his Ordnance upon the Spanish Vice-admiral. The Spaniards then well perceiving the nimbleness of the English ships in discharging upon the enemy on all sides, gathered themselves close into the form of a half moon, and slackened their sails, lest they should outgo any of their company. And while they were proceeding on in this manner, one of their great Galliassees was so furiously battered with shot, that the whole navy was fain to come up rounder together for the safeguard thereof: whereby it came to pass that the principal Galleon of Seville (wherein Don Pedro de Valdez, Vasques de Silva, Alonzo de Sayas, and other noble men were embarked) falling foul of another ship, had her fore-mast broken, and by that means was not able to keep way with the Spanish Fleet; neither would the said Fleet stay to succour it, but left the distressed Galleon behind. The Lord Admiral of England when he saw this ship of Valdez, and thought she had been void of Mariners and Soldiers, taking with him as many ships as he could, passed by it, that he might not lose sight of the Spanish Fleet that night. For Sir Francis Drake (who was notwithstanding appointed to bear out his lantern that night)¹

¹ "To Drake was appointed the honourable duty of leading the fleet throughout the night."

was giving of chase unto five great Hulkes which had separated themselves from the Spanish Fleet: but finding them to be Easterlings, he dismissed them. The Lord Admiral, all that night following the Spanish lantern instead of the English,¹ found himself in the morning to be in the midst of his enemies' Fleet; but when he perceived it, he cleanly conveyed himself out of that great danger.

The day following, which was the two and twenty of July, Sir Francis Drake espied Valdez, his ship; whereunto he sent forth his pinnace, and being advertised that Valdez himself was there, and 450 persons with him, he sent him word that he should yield himself. Valdez for his honour's sake caused certain conditions to be propounded unto Drake: who answered Valdez that he was not now at leisure to make any long parley, but if he would yield himself, he should find him friendly and tractable: howbeit if he had resolved to die in fight, he should prove Drake to be no dastard.

Upon which answer, Valdez and his company understanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, being moved with the renown and celebrity of his name, with one consent yielded themselves, and found him very favourable unto them. Then Valdez with 40 or 50 noblemen and gentlemen pertaining unto him, came on board Sir Francis Drake's ship. The residue of his company were carried unto Plimmouth, where

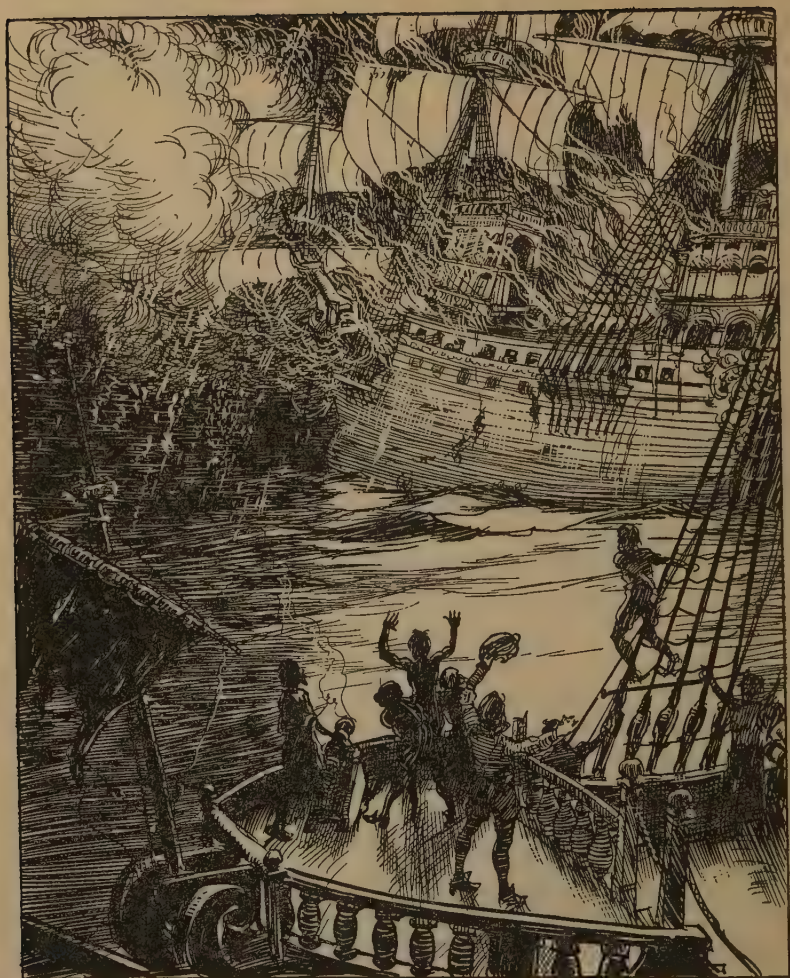
¹ There was a muddle at this point. For some reason Drake suddenly put out "the great poop lantern" of his ship, the "Revenge," and turned aside. Howard kept straight on, and the Captains of the fleet, who had been commanded to follow Drake, were left uncertain what to do.

they were detained a year and an half for their ransom.

Valdez, coming unto Drake and humbly kissing his hand, protested unto him, that he and his had resolved to die in battle, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right courteous and gentle, and whom they had heard by general report to be most favourable unto his vanquished foe: insomuch that he said it was to be doubted whether his enemies had more cause to admire and love him for his great, valiant, and prosperous exploits, or to dread him for his singular felicity and wisdom, which ever attended upon him in the wars, and by the which he had attained unto so great honour. With that, Drake embraced him and gave him very honourable entertainment, feeding him at his own table, and lodging him in his cabin.

Here Valdez began to recount unto Drake the forces of all the Spanish Fleet, and how four mighty Galleys were separated by tempest from them: and also how they were determined first to have put into Plymouth Haven, not expecting to be repelled thence by the English ships, which they thought could by no means withstand their impregnable forces; persuading themselves that by means of their huge Fleet, they were become lords and commanders of the main Ocean. For which cause they marvelled much how the English men in their small ships durst approach within musket shot of the Spaniards' mighty wooden castles; gathering the wind of them, with many other such-like attempts.

The same day was set on fire one of their greatest ships, being Admiral of the squadron of Guipuscoa, and being the ship of Michael de Oquendo, Vice-admiral of



One of their greatest ships was set on fire

the whole Fleet, which contained great store of gunpowder and other warlike provision. The upper part only of this ship was burnt, and all the persons therein contained (except a very few) were consumed with fire. And thereupon it was taken by the English, and brought into England, with a number of miserable burnt and scorched Spaniards. Howbeit the gunpowder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and unconsumed.

In the mean season the Lord Admiral of England, in his ship called the *Ark-royal*, all that night pursued the Spaniards so near, that in the morning he was almost left alone in the enemy's Fleet; and it was four of the clock at afternoon before the residue of the English Fleet could overtake him.

At the same time Hugo de Moncada, Governor of the four Galliasse, made humble suit unto the Duke of Medina that he might be licensed to encounter the Admiral of England: which liberty the Duke thought not good to permit unto him, because he was loth to exceed the limits of his commission and charge.

THE ARMADA: PORTLAND AND THE ISLE OF WIGHT

Off Portland the wind changed and the Armada turned to attack: the engagement was indecisive, but for a time some of the English ships were in great danger. They escaped by superior seamanship and gunnery, and the Armada was turned again along the Channel towards Dover, with the English following behind. On reaching the Isle of Wight the Spaniards probably intended to seize a port-town which they could use as a base while they were protecting the passage of the Duke of Parma's army; but once more they were driven beyond their objective.

Upon Tuesday, which was the three and twenty of July, the navy being come over against Portland, the wind began to turn Northerly; insomuch that the Spaniards had a fortunate and fit gale to invade the English. But the Englishmen having lesser and nimbler ships, recovered again the vantage of the wind from the Spaniards, whereat the Spaniards seemed to be more incensed to fight than before. But when the English Fleet had continually and without intermission from morning to night, beaten and battered them with all their shot both great and small: the Spaniards uniting themselves, gathered their whole Fleet close together into a roundel¹; so that it was apparent that they meant not as yet to invade others, but only to defend themselves and to make haste unto the place prescribed unto them, which was near unto Dunkirk; that they might join forces with the Duke of Parma,

¹ It is not known exactly what is meant by a "roundel": it seems to have been some close formation, possibly of "independent columns of from three to five ships abreast." It was used for sailing only, and was not a fighting formation: to get into action the Armada had to reform in a complicated battle-order.

who was determined to have proceeded secretly with his small ships under the shadow and protection of the great ones, and so had intended circumspectly to perform the whole expedition.

This was the most furious and bloody skirmish of all, in which the Lord Admiral of England continued fighting amidst his enemy's Fleet; and seeing one of his Captains afar off, he spake unto him in these words: "Oh George what doest thou? Wilt thou now frustrate my hope and opinion conceived of thee? Wilt thou forsake me now?" With which words he being enflamed, approached forthwith, encountered the enemy, and did the part of a most valiant Captain. His name was George Fenner, a man that had been conversant in many Sea-fights.

In this conflict there was a certain great Venetian ship, with other small ships, surprised and taken by the English.

The English navy in the meanwhile increased, whereunto out of all Havens of the Realm resorted ships and men: for they all with one accord came flocking thither as unto a set field, where immortal fame and glory was to be attained, and faithful service to be performed unto their Prince and country.

And so it came to pass that the number of the English ships amounted unto a hundred: which when they were come before Dover, were increased to a hundred and thirty, being notwithstanding of no proportionable bigness to encounter with the Spaniards; except two or three and twenty of the Queen's greater ships, which only, by reason of their presence, bred an opinion in the Spaniards' minds concerning the power of the English Fleet: the mariners and soldiers whereof were esteemed to be twelve thousand.

The four and twenty of July, when-as the sea was calm, and no wind stirring, the fight was only between the four great Galliassees and the English ships, which being rowed with oars, had great vantage of the said English ships; which notwithstanding for all that would not be forced to yield, but discharged their chain-shot to cut asunder their cables and cordage of the Galliassees, with many other such stratagems. They were now constrained to send their men on land for a new supply of gunpowder, whereof they were in great scarcity by reason they had so frankly spent the greater part in the former conflicts.

The same day, a Council being assembled, it was decreed that the English Fleet should be divided into four squadrons: the principal whereof was committed unto the Lord Admiral: the second, to Sir Francis Drake: the third, to Captain Hawkins: the fourth, to Captain Frobisher.

The Spaniards in their sailing observed very diligent and good order, sailing three and four, and sometimes more ships in a rank; and following close up one after another, and the stronger and greater ships protecting the lesser.

The five and twenty of July, when the Spaniards were come over-against the Isle of Wight, the Lord Admiral of England being accompanied with his best ships, with great valour and dreadful thundering of shot, encountered the Spanish Admiral, being in the very midst of all his Fleet. Which when the Spaniard perceived, being assisted with his strongest ships, he came forth and entered a terrible combat with the English: for they bestowed each on other the broad-sides, and mutually

THE ARMADA: THE ISLE OF WIGHT 207

discharged all their Ordnance, being within one hundred, or a hundred and twenty yards one of another.

At length the Spaniards hoisted up their sails, and again gathered themselves up close into the form of a roundel. In the mean while Captain Frobisher had engaged himself into a most dangerous conflict. Where-upon the Lord Admiral coming to succour him, found that he had valiantly and discreetly behaved himself, and that he had wisely and in good time given over the fight, because that after so great a battery he had sustained no damage.

For which cause, the day following, being the six and twenty of July, the Lord Admiral rewarded him with the order of knighthood, together with the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Sheffield, M. John Hawkins and others.

THE ARMADA: CALAIS AND GRAVELINES

When they anchored off Calais many Spanish ships had been badly damaged by gun-fire, but the English would give them no rest. Fire-ships were improvised: they came, as one of the enemy wrote, "spurting fire and their ordnance shooting, which was a horror to see in the night"—and the Armada fled in panic. The decisive battle was fought off Gravelines: with magnificent discipline the best of the Spanish commanders had to some extent re-formed the fleet, but the English drove them helplessly towards the shallows off the coast. At the last moment, when it seemed as if nothing could save the whole Armada from destruction, the wind changed and they reached open sea again; but by this time all hope of meeting Parma's army was gone.

The seven and twenty of July, the Spaniards, about the sun-setting, were come over-against Dover, and rode at

anchor within the sight of Calais, intending to hold on for Dunkirk; expecting there to join with the Duke of Parma his forces, without which they were able to do little or nothing.

Likewise the English Fleet following up hard upon them, anchored just by them within culverin-shot. And here the Lord Henry Seymour united himself unto the Lord Admiral, with his fleet of 30 ships, which rode before the mouth of Thames.

The Duke of Parma being advertised of the Spanish Fleet's arrival upon the coast of England, made all the haste he could to be present himself in this expedition, for the performance of his charge.

The next day, travelling to Dunkirk, he heard the thundering Ordnance of either Fleet: and the same evening being come to Dixmude, he was given to understand the hard success of the Spanish Fleet.

Upon Tuesday, which was the thirtieth of July, about high noon, he came to Dunkirk, when-as all the Spanish Fleet was now passed by: neither durst any of his ships in the mean space come forth to assist the said Spanish Fleet, for fear of five and thirty warlike ships of Holland and Zeland, which there kept watch and ward under the conduct of the Admiral Justin of Nassau.

The foresaid five and thirty ships were furnished with most cunning mariners and old expert soldiers; amongst the which were twelve hundred Musketeers, whom the States had chosen out of all their garrisons, and whom they knew to have been heretofore experienced in sea-fights.

This navy was given especially in charge, not to suffer any ship to come out of the Haven, nor to permit any

Zabraes, Pataches or other small vessels of the Spanish Fleet (which were more likely to aid the Dunkirkers) to enter thereinto; for the greater ships were not to be feared by reason of the shallow sea in that place. Howbeit the Prince of Parma his forces, being as yet unready, were not come on board his ships; only the English Fugitives, being seven hundred in number under the conduct of Sir William Stanley, came in fit time to have been embarked, because they hoped to give the first assault against England. The residue shewed themselves unwilling and loath to depart, because they saw but a few mariners, who were by constraint drawn into this expedition, and also because they had very bare provision of bread, drink, and other necessary victuals.

Moreover, the ships of Holland and Zeland stood continually in their sight, threatening shot and powder, and many inconveniences unto them: for fear of which ships, the Mariners and Sea-men secretly withdrew themselves both day and night, lest that the Duke of Parma his soldiers, should compel them by main force to go on board, and to break through the Hollanders' Fleet; which all of them judged to be impossible by reason of the straightness of the Haven.

But it seemeth that the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards, grounded upon a vain and presumptuous expectation that all the ships of England and of the Low Countries, would at the first sight of the Spanish and Dunkirk Navy have betaken themselves to flight, yielding them sea-room, and endeavouring only to defend themselves, their havens, and sea coasts from invasion. Wherefore their intent and purpose was, that the Duke of Parma in his small and flat-bottomed ships,

should as it were under the shadow and wings of the Spanish fleet, convey over all his troops, armour, and warlike provision, and with their forces so united, should invade England; or while the English fleet were busied in fight against the Spanish, should enter upon any part of the coast, which he thought to be most convenient. Which invasion (as the captives afterward confessed) the Duke of Parma thought first to have attempted by the River of Thames; upon the banks whereof, having at his first arrival landed twenty or thirty thousand of his principal soldiers, he supposed that he might easily have won the City of London; both because his small ships should have followed and assisted his land forces, and also for that the City itself was but meanly fortified and easy to overcome, by reason of the Citizens' delicacy and discontinuance from the wars; who with continual and constant labour might be vanquished, if they yielded not at the first assault. They were in good hope also, to have met with some rebels against her Majesty, and such as were discontented with the present state; as Papists, and others. Likewise they looked for aid from the favourers of the Scottish Queen, who was not long before put to death; all which they thought would have stirred up seditions and factions.

When-as therefore the Spanish fleet rode at anchor before Calais, to the end they might consult with the Duke of Parma what was best to be done, according to the King's commandment, and the present estate of their affairs; and had now (as we will afterward declare) purposed upon the second of August, being Friday, with one power and consent to have put their intended business in practice; the Lord Admiral of England, being

admonished by her Majesty's letters from the Court, thought it most expedient, either to drive the Spanish fleet from that place, or at leastwise to give them the encounter. And for that cause (according to her Majesty's prescription) he took forthwith eight of his worst and basest ships which came next to hand, and disburdening them of all things which seemed to be of any value, filled them with gunpowder, pitch, brimstone, and with other combustible and fiery matter; and charging all their ordnance with powder, bullets, and stones, he sent the said ships upon the 28 of July, being Sunday, about two of the clock after midnight, with the wind and tide against the Spanish fleet. Which when they had proceeded a good space, being forsaken of the Pilots, and set on fire, were directly carried upon the King of Spain's Navy: which fire in the dead of the night, put the Spaniards into such a perplexity and horror, that cutting their cables whereon their anchors were fastened, and hoisting up their sails, they betook themselves very confusedly unto the main sea.

In this sudden confusion, the principal and greatest of the four galliasses, falling foul of another ship, lost her rudder: for which cause when she could not be guided any longer, she was by the force of the tide cast into a certain shoal upon the shore of Calais, where she was immediately assaulted by divers English pinnaces, hoys, and drumblers.

And as they lay battering of her with their ordnance, and durst not board her, the Lord Admiral sent thither his long boat, with an hundred choice soldiers, under the command of Captain Amias Preston. Upon whose approach their fellows being more emboldened, did offer

to board the galliasse: against whom the governor thereof, and Captain of all the four galliasses, Hugo de Moncada, stoutly opposed himself, fighting by so much the more valiantly, in that he hoped presently to be succoured by the Duke of Parma. In the mean season, Moncada, after he had endured the conflict a good while, being hit on the head with a bullet, fell down stark dead, and a great number of Spaniards also were slain in his company. The greater part of the residue leaping overboard into the sea, to save themselves by swimming, were most of them drowned.

This huge and monstrous galliasse, wherein were contained three hundred slaves to lug at the oars, and four hundred soldiers, was in the space of three hours rifled in the same place; and there were found amongst divers other commodities 50,000 ducats of the Spanish King's treasure. At length when the slaves were released out of their fetters, the Englishmen would have set the said ship on fire; which, Monsieur Gourdon the governor of Calais, for fear of the damage which might thereupon ensue to the Town and Haven, would not permit them to do, but drove them from thence with his great ordnance.

Upon the 29 of July in the morning, the Spanish Fleet after the foresaid tumult, having arranged themselves again into order, were, within sight of Gravelines, most bravely and furiously encountered by the English; where they once again got the wind of the Spaniards: who suffered themselves to be deprived of the commodity of the place in Calais Road, and of the advantage of the wind near unto Dunkirk, rather than they would change their array, or separate their forces now conjoined and united together; standing only upon their defence.

And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ships in the English fleet, yet scarce were there 22 or 23 among them all, which matched 90 of the Spanish ships in bigness, or could conveniently assault them. Wherefore, the English ships using their prerogative of nimble steerage, whereby they could turn and wield themselves with the wind which way they listed, came oftentimes very near upon the Spaniards, and charged them so sore, that now and then they were but a pike's length asunder: and so, continually giving them one broadside after another, they discharged all their shot both great and small upon them, spending one whole day from morning till night in that violent kind of conflict, until such time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want, they thought it convenient not to pursue the Spaniards any longer, because they had many great vantages of the English, namely, for the extraordinary bigness of their ships, and also for that they were so nearly conjoined, and kept together in so good array, that they could by no means be fought withal, one to one. The English thought therefore, that they had right well acquitted themselves, in chasing the Spaniards first from Calais, and then from Dunkirk; and by that means to have hindered them from joining with the Duke of Parma his forces, and getting the wind of them, to have driven them from their own coasts.

The Spaniards that day sustained great loss and damage, having many of their ships shot through and through, and they discharged likewise great store of ordnance against the English; who indeed sustained some hindrance, but not comparable to the Spaniards' loss: for they lost not any one ship or person of

account. For very diligent inquisition being made, the Englishmen, all that time wherein the Spanish Navy sailed upon their seas, are not found to have wanted above one hundred of their people: albeit Sir Francis Drake's ship was pierced with shot above forty times, and his very cabin was twice shot through, and about the conclusion of the fight, the bed of a certain gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from under him with the force of a bullet. Likewise, as the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Charles Blunt were at dinner upon a time, the bullet of a demi-culverin broke through the midst of their cabin, touched their feet, and struck down two of the standers by; with many such accidents befalling the English ships, which it were tedious to rehearse. Whereupon it is most apparent, that God miraculously preserved the English nation. For the Lord Admiral wrote unto her Majesty that in all human reason, and according to the judgment of all men (every circumstance being duly considered) the Englishmen were not of any such force, whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approach within sight of the Spanish Fleet: insomuch that they freely ascribed all the honour of their victory unto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counsels to none effect.

The same day, the Spanish ships were so battered with English shot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them sunk right down: and among the rest a certain great ship of Biscay, which Captain Crosse assaulted, which perished even in the time of the conflict, so that very few therein escaped drowning; who reported that the governors of the same ship slew one another upon the occasion following: one of them, which would

have yielded the ship was suddenly slain; the brother of the slain party, in revenge of his death, slew the murderer, and in the mean while the ship sunk.

The same night two Portugal galleons of the burden of seven or eight hundred tons a-piece, to wit the Saint Philip and the Saint Matthew, were forsaken of the Spanish Fleet, for they were so torn with shot, that the water entered into them on all sides. In the galleon of Saint Philip was Francis de Toledo, brother unto the Count de Orgas, being colonel over two and thirty bands; besides other gentlemen; who seeing their mast broken with shot, they shaped their course, as well as they could, for the coast of Flanders: whither when they could not attain, the principal men in the ship, committing themselves to their skiff, arrived at the next town, which was Ostend; and the ship itself being left behind with the residue of their company, was taken by the Vlishingers.¹

In the other galleon, called the S. Matthew, was embarked Don Diego Pimentelli, another camp-master and colonel of 32 bands, being brother unto the Marquis of Tamnares, with many other gentlemen and captains. Their ship was not very great, but exceeding strong, for of a great number of bullets which had battered her, there were scarce 20 wherewith she was pierced or hurt: her upper work was of force sufficient to bear off a musket shot. This ship was shot through and pierced, in the fight before Gravelines, insomuch that the leakage of the water could not be stopped: whereupon the Duke of Medina sent his great skiff unto the governor thereof, that he might save himself and the principal persons

¹ Inhabitants of the district of Flushing (Vlissingen).

that were in his ship: which he, upon a high courage, refused to do: wherefore the Duke charged him to sail next unto himself: which the night following he could not perform, by reason of the great abundance of water which entered his ship on all sides; for the avoiding whereof, and to save his ship from sinking, he caused 50 men continually to labour at the pump, though it were to small purpose. And seeing himself thus forsaken and separated from his admiral, he endeavoured what he could to attain unto the coast of Flanders: where, being espied by 4 or 5 men of war, which had their station assigned them upon the same coast, he was admonished to yield himself unto them. Which he refusing to do, was strongly assaulted by them altogether; and his ship being pierced with many bullets, was brought into far worse case than before, and 40 of his soldiers were slain. By which extremity he was enforced at length to yield himself unto Peter Banderduess and other captains, which brought him and his ship into Zeland; and that other ship also last before mentioned: which both of them, immediately after the greater and better part of their goods were unladen, sunk right down.

For the memory of this exploit, the foresaid captain Banderduess caused the banner of one of these ships to be set up in the great Church of Leyden in Holland; which is of so great a length, that being fastened to the very roof, it reached down to the ground.

THE ARMADA: ROUT

The position of the Armada was now hopeless. With damaged ships, with little food and less water, with hundreds of sick and wounded men, they had no choice but to attempt a dangerous return to Spain by sailing round the North of Scotland. The English did not trouble to follow them far, but left them to the fate which came quickly upon them.

The 29 of July, the Spanish fleet being encountered by the English (as is aforesaid) and lying close together under their fighting sails, with a Southwest wind sailed past Dunkirk, the English ships still following the chase. Of whom, the day following, when the Spaniards had got sea-room, they cut their main sails; whereby they sufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight but to fly. For which cause, the Lord Admiral of England dispatched the Lord Henry Seymour with his squadron of small ships unto the coast of Flanders, where, with the help of the Dutch ships, he might stop the Prince of Parma his passage, if perhaps he should attempt to issue forth with his army. And he himself in the mean space pursued the Spanish fleet until the second of August, because he thought they had set sail for Scotland. And albeit he followed them very near, yet did he not assault them any more, for want of powder and bullets. But upon the fourth of August, the wind arising, when-as the Spaniards had spread all their sails, betaking themselves wholly to flight, and leaving Scotland on the left hand, trended toward Norway, (whereby they sufficiently declared that their whole intent was to save themselves by flight, attempting for that purpose, with their battered and crazed ships, the most dangerous navigation of the Northern seas); the English seeing that they were now

proceeded unto the latitude of 57 degrees, and being unwilling to participate that danger whereinto the Spaniards plunged themselves, and because they wanted things necessary, and especially powder and shot, returned back for England; leaving behind them certain pinnaces only, which they enjoined to follow the Spaniards aloof, and to observe their course. And so it came to pass that the fourth of August, with great danger and industry, the English arrived at Harwich: for they had been tossed up and down with a mighty tempest for the space of two or three days together, which it is likely did great hurt unto the Spanish fleet, being (as I said before) so maimed and battered. The English now going on shore, provided themselves forthwith of victuals, gunpowder, and other things expedient; that they might be ready at all assays to entertain the Spanish fleet, if it chanced any more to return. But being afterward more certainly informed of the Spaniards' course, they thought it best to leave them unto those boisterous and uncouth Northern seas, and not there to hunt after them.

The Spaniards, seeing now that they wanted four or five thousand of their people, and having divers maimed and sick persons, and likewise having lost 10 or 12 of their principal ships, they consulted among themselves, what they were best to do, being now escaped out of the hands of the English; because their victuals failed them in like sort, and they began also to want cables, cordage, anchors, masts, sails, and other naval furniture, and utterly despaired of the Duke of Parma his assistance (who verily hoping and undoubtedly expecting the return of the Spanish Fleet, was continually occupied about his great preparation, commanding abundance of anchors to

be made, and other necessary furniture for a Navy to be provided); they thought it good at length, so soon as the wind should serve them, to fetch a compass about Scotland and Ireland, and so return for Spaine.

For they well understood, that commandment was given throughout all Scotland, that they should not have any succour or assistance there. Neither yet could they in Norway supply their wants. Wherefore, having taken certain Scottish and other fisherboats, they brought the men on board their own ships, to the end they might be their guides and Pilots. Fearing also lest their fresh water should fail them, they cast all their horses and mules overboard: and so touching nowhere upon the coast of Scotland, but being carried with a fresh gale between the Orkneys and Fair Isle, they proceeded far North, even unto 61 degrees of latitude, being distant from any land at the least 40 leagues. Here the Duke of Medina, General of the Fleet, commanded all his followers to shape their course for Biscay: and he himself with twenty or five and twenty of his ships which were best provided of fresh water and other necessities, holding on his course over the main Ocean, returned safely home. The residue of his ships being about forty in number, and committed unto his Vice-admiral, fell nearer with the coast of Ireland, intending their course for Cape Clear, because they hoped there to get fresh water, and to refresh themselves on land. But after they were driven with many contrary winds, at length, upon the second of September, they were cast by a tempest arising from the Southwest upon divers parts of Ireland, where many of their ships perished. And amongst others, the ship of Michael de Oquendo, which was one of the great Gal-

liasses : and two great ships of Venice also, namely, la Ratta and Belanzara, with other 36 or 38 ships more, which perished in sundry tempests, together with most of the persons contained in them.

Likewise some of the Spanish ships were the second time carried with a strong West wind into the channel of England, whereof some were taken by the English upon their coast, and others by the men of Rochelle upon the coast of France.

Two ships also were cast away upon the coast of Norway, one of them being of a great burden; howbeit all the persons in the said great ship were saved: insomuch that of 134 ships which set sail out of Portugall, there returned home 53 only, small and great: namely of the four galliasses but one, and but one of the four galleys. Of the 91 great galleons and hulks there were missing 58, and 33 returned: of the pataches and zabraes 17 were missing, and 18 returned home. In brief, there were missing 81 ships, in which number were galliasses, galleys, galleons, and other vessels both great and small. And amongst the 53 ships remaining, those also are reckoned which returned home before they came into the English Chanell. Two galleons of those which were returned, were by misfortune burnt as they rode in the haven; and such like mishaps did many others undergo. Of 30,000 persons which went in this expedition, there perished (according to the number and proportion of the ships) the greater and better part; and many of them which came home, by reason of the toils and inconveniences which they sustained in this voyage, died not long after their arrival. The Duke of Medina immediately upon his return was deposed from his authority, commanded to

his private house, and forbidden to repair unto the Court; where he could hardly satisfy or yield a reason unto his malicious enemies and back-biters. Many honourable personages and men of great renown deceased soon after their return; as namely John Martines de Ricalde, with divers others. A great part also of the Spanish Nobility and Gentry employed in this expedition perished either by fight, diseases, or drowning, before their arrival.

Likewise upon the Scottish Western Isles of Lewis, and Islay, and about Cape Kintyre upon the main land, there were cast away certain Spanish ships; out of which were saved divers Captains and Gentlemen, and almost four hundred soldiers, who for the most part, after their shipwreck, were brought unto Edinborough in Scotland; and being miserably needy and naked, were there clothed at the liberality of the King and the Merchants, and afterward were secretly shipped for Spain.

Upon the Irish coast many of their Noblemen and Gentlemen were drowned; and divers slain by the barbarous and wild Irish.

Also a while after the Spanish Fleet was departed, there was in England, by the commandment of her Majesty, and in the United Provinces, by the direction of the States, a solemn festival day publicly appointed, wherein all persons were enjoined to resort unto the Church, and there to render thanks and praises unto God: and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foresaid solemnity was observed upon the 29 of November; which day was wholly spent in fasting, prayer, and giving of thanks.

Likewise, the Queen's Majesty herself, imitating the ancient Romans, rode into London in triumph, in regard

of her own and her subjects' glorious deliverance. For being attended upon very solemnly by all the principal estates and officers of her Realm, she was carried through her said City of London in a triumphant chariot, and in robes of triumph, from her Palace unto the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, out of the which the ensigns and colours of the vanquished Spaniards hung displayed. Her Majesty being entered into the Church, together with her Clergy and Nobles gave thanks unto God, and caused a public Sermon to be preached before her at Paul's Cross; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praise, honour, and glory might be rendered unto God, and that God's name might be extolled by thanksgiving. And with her own princely voice, she most Christianly exhorted the people to do the same: whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wished her a most long and happy life, to the confusion of her foes.

Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themselves termed in all places invincible) such as sailed not upon the Ocean sea many hundred years before, in the year 1588 vanished into smoke; to the great confusion and discouragement of the authors thereof.



THE LAST FIGHT OF THE "REVENGE"

The Spanish Armada which captured the "Revenge" was not the famous Armada of 1588. . . The last fight of the "Revenge"—she had been Drake's flagship in the Armada campaign—took place on August 31st, 1591. A small squadron under Lord Thomas Howard had been sent to the Azores to wait for and attack the Spanish treasure ships—known as the Indian fleet—which sailed once a year from the West Indies. However, a fleet of warships under Don Alphonso de Bacan which had been sent from Spain to protect the treasure ships, surprised the English squadron at Flores. The following description of the fight was written by Sir Walter Raleigh.

THE Lord Thomas Howard with six of her Majesty's ships, six victuallers of London, the Barque Raleigh, and two or three other Pinnaces, riding at anchor near unto Flores, one of the Westerly Islands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoon, had intelligence by one Captain Middleton of the approach of the Spanish Armada. Which Middleton, being in a very good sailer, had kept them company three days before, of good purpose, both to discover their forces the more, as also to give advice to my Lord Thomas of their approach. He had no sooner delivered the news, but the fleet was in sight: many of our ships' companies were on shore in the Island; some providing ballast for their ships; others filling of water and refreshing themselves from the land with such things as they could either for money, or by force recover. By reason whereof our ships, being all pestered and rummaging everything out of order, very light for want of ballast, and that which was most to our disadvantage, the one-half part of the men of every ship sick, and utterly unserviceable: for in the Revenge there were ninety diseased: in the Bonaventure, not so many in health as could handle her mainsail. For had not twenty men

been taken out of a barque of Sir George Carey's, his being commanded to be sunk, and those appointed to her,¹ she had hardly ever recovered England. The rest, for the most part, were in little better state. The names of her Majesty's ships were these as followeth; the *Defiance*, which was Admiral, the *Revenge* Vice-Admiral, the *Bonaventure* commanded by Captain Crosse, the *Lion* by George Fenner, the *Foresight* by Master Thomas Vavasour, and the *Crane* by Duffild. The *Foresight* and the *Crane* being but small ships; only the others were of the middle size; the rest, besides the *Barque Raleigh*, commanded by Captain Thin, were victuallers, and of small force or none. The Spanish fleet having shrouded their approach by reason of the Island, were now so soon at hand, as our ships had scarce time to weigh their anchors; but some of them were driven to let slip their Cables and set sail. Sir Richard Grenville was the last that weighed, to recover the men that were upon the Island, which otherwise had been lost. The Lord Thomas with the rest very hardly recovered the wind, which Sir Richard Grenville not being able to do, was persuaded by the Master and others to cut his mainsail, and cast about, and to trust to the sailing of the ship; for the squadron of Seville were on his weather bow.² But Sir Richard utterly refused to

¹ The men from Sir George Carey's barque were transferred to the *Bonaventure*, which without them would have had great difficulty in getting back to England.

² The wind was blowing towards the shore, and Sir Richard lay between the shore and the Spanish ships, so that unless he turned and fled he could only put out to sea by forcing a way through the Spanish fleet. He succeeded in passing "divers of the foremost," but when he was becalmed by the huge bulk of the *San Philip*, the ships he had already passed came up from behind and "laid him aboard."

turn from the enemy, alleging that he would rather choose to die, than to dishonour himself, his country, and her Majesty's ship; persuading his company that he would pass through the two squadrons, in despite of them, and enforce those of Seville to give him way. Which he performed upon divers of the foremost, who, as the Mariners term it, sprang their luff, and fell under the lee of the Revenge. But the other course had been the better, and might right well have been answered in so great an impossibility of prevailing. Notwithstanding out of the greatness of his mind, he could not be persuaded. In the meanwhile as he attended those which were nearest him, the great San Philip being in the wind of him, and coming towards him, becalmed his sails in such sort, as the ship could neither make way nor feel the helm: so huge and high carged was the Spanish ship, being of a thousand and five hundred tons. Who-after laid the Revenge aboard. When he was thus bereft of his sails, the ships that were under his lee luffing up, also laid him aboard: of which the next was the Admiral of the Biscaines, a very mighty and puissant ship commanded by Brittandona. The said Philip carried three tier of ordnance on a side, and eleven pieces in every tier. She shot eight forth right out of her chase, besides those of her stern ports.

After the Revenge was entangled with this Philip, four other boarded her; two on her larboard, and two on her starboard. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoon, continued very terrible all that evening. But the great San Philip having received the lower tier of the Revenge, discharged with crossbar-shot, shifted herself with all diligence from her sides, utterly misliking

her first entertainment. Some say that the ship foundered, but we cannot report it for truth, unless we were assured. The Spanish ships were filled with companies of soldiers, in some two hundred besides the mariners; in some five, in others eight hundred. In ours there were none at all beside the mariners, but the servants of the commanders and some few voluntary gentlemen only. After many interchanged volleys of great ordnance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the *Revenge*, and made divers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed soldiers and musketeers; but were still repulsed again and again, and at all times beaten back into their own ships, or into the seas. In the beginning of the fight, the *George Noble* of London having received some shot through her by the *Armadas*, fell under the lee of the *Revenge*, and asked Sir Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victuallers and of small force: Sir Richard bid him save himself, and leave him to his fortune. After the fight had thus, without intermission, continued while the day lasted and some hours of the night, many of our men were slain and hurt; and one of the great galleons of the *Armada*, and the *Admiral* of the *Hulks* both sunk, and in many other of the Spanish ships great slaughter was made. Some write that Sir Richard was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight, and lay speechless for a time ere he recovered. But two of the *Revenge's* own company, brought home in a ship of Lime¹ from the Islands, examined by some of the Lords, and others, affirmed that he was never so wounded as that he forsook the upper deck, till an hour before midnight; and

¹ A ship from the port of Lyme Regis.



The Spaniards were repulsed again and again

then being shot into the body with a Musket as he was a-dressing,¹ was again shot into the head, and withal his Chirurgeon wounded to death.

But to return to the fight; the Spanish ships which attempted to board the *Revenge*, as they were wounded and beaten off, so always others came in their places, she having never less than two mighty Galleons by her sides, and aboard her: so that ere the morning, from three of the clock the day before, there had fifteen several Armadas assailed her; and all so ill approved their entertainment, as they were by the break of day, far more willing to hearken to a composition, than hastily to make any more assaults or entries. But as the day increased, so our men decreased: and as the light grew more and more, by so much more grew our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, saving one small ship called the *Pilgrim*, commanded by Jacob Whiddon, who hovered all night to see the success: but in the morning bearing with the *Revenge*, was hunted like a hare amongst many ravenous hounds, but escaped.

All the powder of the *Revenge* to the last barrel was now spent, all her pikes broken, forty of her best men slain, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight she had but one hundred free from sickness; and fourscore and ten sick, laid in hold upon the Ballast. A small troop to man such a ship, and a weak garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred all was sustained, the volleys, boardings, and enterings of fifteen ships-of-war, besides those which beat her at large.² On the contrary, the Spanish were always supplied

¹ While his wounds were being dressed.

² Bombarded her from a distance.

with soldiers brought from every squadron: all manner of arms and powder at will. Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men, or weapons; the Masts all beaten overboard, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper work altogether razed, and in effect evened she was with the water; but the very foundation or bottom of a ship, nothing being left overhead either for flight or defence. Sir Richard finding himself in this distress, and unable any longer to make resistance, having endured in this fifteen hours' fight, the assault of fifteen several Armadas, all by turns aboard him, and by estimation eight hundred shot of great Artillery, besides many assaults and entries; and that himself and the ship must needs be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him (the Revenge not able to move one way or other, but as she was moved with the waves and billow of the sea) commanded the Master gunner, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sink the ship; that thereby nothing might remain of glory or victory to the Spaniards: seeing in so many hours' fight, and with so great a Navy they were not able to take her; having had fifteen hours' time, above ten thousand men, and fifty and three sail of men-of-war to perform it withal: and persuaded the company, or as many as he could induce, to yield themselves unto God, and to the mercy of none else; but as they had, like valiant resolute men, repulsed so many enemies, they should not now shorten the honour of their Nation, by prolonging their own lives for a few hours or a few days. The Master gunner readily condescended and divers others; but the Captain and the Master were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard

to have care of them: alleging that the Spaniard would be as ready to entertain a composition, as they were willing to offer the same: and that there being divers sufficient and valiant men yet living, and whose wounds were not mortal, they might do their country and Prince acceptable service hereafter. And whereas Sir Richard had alleged that the Spaniards should never glory to have taken one ship of her Majesty, seeing they had so long and so notably defended themselves; they answered, that the ship had six foot water in hold, three shot under water, which were so weakly stopped, as with the first working of the sea, she must needs sink; and was besides so crushed and bruised, as she could never be removed out of the place.

And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Richard refusing to hearken to any of those reasons: the Master of the *Revenge* (while the Captain won unto him the greater party) was convoyed aboard the General Don Alfonso Baçan. Who (finding none over-hasty to enter the *Revenge* again, doubting lest Sir Richard would have blown them up and himself; and perceiving by the report of the Master of the *Revenge* his dangerous disposition) yielded that all their lives should be saved, the company sent for England, and the better sort to pay such reasonable ransom as their estate would bear; and in the mean season to be free from Galley or imprisonment. To this he so much the rather condescended as well, as I have said, for fear of further loss and mischief to themselves, as also for the desire he had to recover Sir Richard Grenville; whom for his notable valour he seemed greatly to honour and admire.

When this answer was returned, and that safety of life

was promised; the common sort being now at the end of their peril, the most drew back from Sir Richard and the Master gunner, being no hard matter to dissuade men from death to life. The Master gunner finding himself and Sir Richard thus prevented and mastered by the greater number, would have slain himself with a sword, had he not been by force withheld and locked into his Cabin. Then the General sent many boats aboard the *Revenge*, and divers of our men fearing Sir Richard's disposition, stole away aboard the General and other ships. Sir Richard thus overmatched, was sent unto Alfonso Baçan to remove out of the *Revenge*, the ship being marvellous unsavoury, filled with blood and bodies of dead, and wounded men like a slaughter-house. Sir Richard answered that he might do with his body what he list, for he esteemed it not; and as he was carried out of the ship he swooned, and reviving again desired the company to pray for him. The General used Sir Richard with all humanity, and left nothing unattempted that tended to his recovery, highly commending his valour and worthiness, and greatly bewailing the danger wherein he was; being unto them a rare spectacle, and a resolution seldom approved, to see one ship turn toward so many enemies, to endure the charge and boarding of so many huge Armadas, and to resist and repel the assaults and entries of so many soldiers. All which and more is confirmed by a Spanish captain of the same Armada, and a present actor in the fight, who being severed from the rest in a storm, was by the *Lion of London* a small ship taken, and is now prisoner in London.

There were slain and drowned in this fight, well near one thousand of the enemies, and two special com-

manders Don Luis de sant John, and Don George de Prunaria de Mallaga, as the Spanish captain confesseth, besides divers others of special account, whereof as yet report is not made.

The Admiral of the Hulks and the Ascension of Seville were both sunk by the side of the Revenge; one other recovered the road of Saint Michael, and sunk also there; a fourth ran herself with the shore to save her men. Sir Richard died as it is said, the second or third day aboard the General, and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the sea or on the land we know not: the comfort that remaineth to his friends is, that he hath ended his life honourably in respect of the reputation won to his nation and country, and of the same to his posterity, and that being dead, he hath not outlived his own honour.

A few days after the fight was ended, and the English prisoners dispersed into the Spanish and Indie ships, there arose so great a storm from the West and North-west, that all the fleet was dispersed, as well the Indian fleet which were then come unto them, as the rest of the Armada that attended their arrival; of which 14 sail together with the Revenge, and in her 200 Spaniards, were cast away upon the Isle of St. Michael. So it pleased them to honour the burial of that renowned ship the Revenge, not suffering her to perish alone, for the great honour she achieved in her life time.

IX. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE AMERICAN NATION

Most of the early attempts at colonization ended in failure; but they were gallant failures, and they made "the Preface to the History of the British Empire"—of which the North American colonies in their origin were part. The discovery of Canada was made by a Frenchman, Jacques Cartier; but it was many years before the little Indian village which he found, and the mountain which he named Mount Royal, became the city of Montreal: and it was not until Wolfe took Quebec that they became part of the British Empire. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "the first who set his hand to the building up of Greater Britain," lost his life for an ideal which was not fulfilled till centuries had passed: but in the beginning the ideal was his. Sir Walter Raleigh, "the embodiment of all that was best in the chivalry, the culture, and the enterprise of the Elizabethan age," failed when he tried to found a nation in "Virginia" and in the "El Dorado" of Guiana: but "the people of the United States must look to him as the original founder of their nation, and they could not have a nobler or a purer origin."

JACQUES CARTIER DISCOVERS MONTREAL

Cartier set sail from France in May 1535 with three ships, and after stopping for a time in Newfoundland, entered "a goodly great gulf" and "named the said gulf St. Lawrence." For many days he sailed up the river which now bears the same name; but after a time he had to leave his ships and proceed with a "pinnace" and other small boats.

FROM the nineteenth until the eight and twentieth of September, we sailed up along the river, never losing one hour of time; all which time we saw as goodly and pleasant a country as possibly can be wished for, full of all sorts of goodly trees; that is to say, Oaks, Elms, Walnut-trees, Cedars, Firs, Ashes, Box, Willows, and great store of Vines, all as full of grapes as could be; so that if any of our fellows went on shore, they came

home laden with them. There are likewise many Cranes, Swans, Geese, Ducks, Pheasants, Partridges, Thrushes, Blackbirds, Turtles, Finches, Redbreasts, Nightingales, Sparrows of diverse kinds; with many other sorts of Birds, even as in France, and great plenty and store. Upon the 28 of September, we came to a great wide lake in the middle of the river, five or six leagues broad, and twelve long.¹ All that day we went against the tide, having but two fathom water. Being come to one of the heads of the lake, we could espy no passage or going out; nay, rather it seemed to have been closed and shut up round about, and there was but a fathom and a half of water, little more or less. And therefore we were constrained to cast anchor, and to stay with our Pinnace; and went with our two boats to seek some going out. And in one place we found four or five branches, which out of the river come into the lake; and they came from Hochelaga.² But in the said branches, because of the great fierceness and swiftness wherewith they break out, and the course of the water, they make certain bars and shoals; and at that time there was but a fathom water. Those shoals being passed, we found four or five fathom; and as far as we could perceive by the flood, it was that time of the year that the waters are lowest, for at other times they flow higher by three fathoms. All these four or five branches do compass about five or six Islands very pleasant, which make the head of the lake: about fifteen leagues beyond, they do all come into one. That day we landed in one of the said Islands, and met with five men that were hunting of wild beasts; who as

¹ Lake St. Peter.

² A small Indian village on the site of Montreal.

freely and familiarly came to our boats without any fear, as if we had ever been brought up together. Our boats being somewhat near the shore, one of them took our Captain in his arms, and carried him on shore, as lightly and as easily as if he had been a child of five years old: so strong and sturdy was this fellow. We found that they had a great heap of wild rats that live in the water, as big as a Coney, and very good to eat, which they gave unto our Captain; who for a recompense gave them knives and glass Beads. We asked them with signs if that was the way to Hochelaga: they answered "Yea"; and that we had yet three days sailing thither.

So soon as we were come near the town of Hochelaga, a great number of the inhabitants thereof came to present themselves before us after their fashion, making very much of us: we were by our guides brought into the midst of the town. They have in the middle-most part of their houses a large square place, being from side to side a good stone's cast; whither we were brought, and there with signs were commanded to stay. Then suddenly all the women and maidens of the town gathered themselves together; part of which had their arms full of young children; and as many as could, came to rub our faces, our arms, and what part of the body soever they could touch; weeping for very joy that they saw us, showing us the best countenance that possibly they could, desiring us with their signs, that it would please us to touch their children. That done, the men caused the women to withdraw themselves back. Then they every one sat down on the ground round about us, as if they would have shown and rehearsed some Comedy or other show: then

presently came the women again, every one bringing a four-square mat in manner of carpets; and spreading them abroad on the ground in that place, they caused us to sit upon them. That done, the Lord and King of the country was brought upon 9 or 10 men's shoulders (whom in their tongue they call Agouhanna), sitting upon a great Stag's skin; and they laid him down upon the foresaid mats, near to the Captain, every one beckoning unto us that he was their Lord and King. This Agouhanna was a man about fifty years old: he was no whit better apparelled than any of the rest, only excepted, that he had a certain thing made of the skins of Hedgehogs like a red wreath; and that was instead of his Crown. He was full of the palsy, and his members shrunk together. After he had with certain signs saluted our Captain and all his company, and by manifest tokens bid all welcome, he showed his legs and arms to our Captain, and with signs desired him to touch them; and so he did, rubbing them with his own hands. Then did Agouhanna take the wreath or crown he had about his head, and gave it unto our Captain: that done they brought before him divers diseased men; some blind, some cripple, some lame and impotent, and some so old that the hair of their eyelids came down and covered their cheeks; and laid them all along before our Captain, to the end they might of him be touched: for it seemed unto them that God was descended and come down from heaven to heal them. Our Captain seeing the misery and devotion of this poor people, recited the Gospel of Saint John; that is to say, "In the beginning was the word"; touching every one that were diseased, praying to God that it would please him to open the hearts of this poor

people, and to make them know his holy Word, and that they might receive Baptism and Christendom.

Then he caused the men all orderly to be set on one side, the women on another, and likewise the children on another; and to the chiefest of them he gave hatchets, to the other knives, and to the women beads and such other small trifles. Then where the children were, he cast rings, counters, and brooches made of tin; whereat they seemed to be very glad. That done, our Captain commanded trumpets and other musical instruments to be sounded; which when they heard, they were very merry. Then we took our leave and went to our boat: the women seeing that, put themselves before to stay us, and brought us out of their meats that they had made ready for us; as fish, pottage, beans, and such other things, thinking to make us eat, and dine in that place: but because the meats had no savour at all of salt, we liked them not; but thanked them, and with signs gave them to understand that we had no need to eat. When we were out of the Town, divers of the men and women followed us, and brought us to the top of the mountain, which we named Mount Roial; it is about a league from the Town. When, as we were on the top of it, we might discern and plainly see thirty leagues about.

THE DEATH OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT: NEWFOUNDLAND

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage ended in disaster; but the courage of such men as Captain Maurice Browne and Edward Headly, and the heroic death of the Commander himself have given an "undying fame" to this adventure. Five ships sailed from England in June 1583, but when the following account begins only three of them were left—the "Delight" (Admiral), the "Golden Hind" (Vice-Admiral), and a Frigate called the "Squirrel"—the last being a tiny vessel of 40 tons. They had reached St. John's Harbour, Newfoundland, and there Gilbert had formally taken possession of the Island "as a territory appertaining to the Queen of England." They left St. John's on August 20, intending to found a colony on the mainland of the neighbouring continent. The story is written by an eye-witness, Edward Hayes, captain of the "Golden Hind."

UPON Tuesday the 27 of August, toward the evening, our General caused them in his frigate to sound, who found white sand at 35 fathom, being then in latitude about 44 degrees.

Wednesday toward night the wind came South, and we bare with the land all that night, West-north-west.

The evening was fair and pleasant, yet not without token of storm to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night, like the Swan that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral, or Delight, continued in sounding of Trumpets, with Drums and Fifes: also winding the Cornets [and] Hautboys: and in the end of their jollity, left with the battle and ringing of doleful knells.

Towards the evening also we caught in the Golden Hind a very mighty Porpoise, with a harping iron; having first stricken divers of them, and brought away part of their flesh, sticking upon the iron, but could re-

cover only that one. These also passing through the Ocean, in herds, did portend storm. I omit to recite frivolous reports by them in the Frigate, of strange voices, the same night, which scared some from the helm.

Thursday the 29 of August, the wind rose, and blew vehemently at South and by East, bringing withal rain, and thick mist, so that we could not see a cable length before us. And betimes in the morning we were altogether run and folded in amongst flats and sands, amongst which we found shoal and deep in every three or four ship's length, after we began to sound: but first we were upon them unawares, until Master Cox looking out discerned (in his judgment) white cliffs—crying (“Land!”) withal, though we could not afterward descry any land; it being very likely the breaking of the sea white, which seemed to be white cliffs, through the haze and thick weather.

Immediately tokens were given unto the Delight, to cast about to seaward; which, being the greater ship, and of burden 120 tons, was yet foremost upon the breach, keeping so ill watch, that they knew not the danger, before they felt the same, too late to recover it: for presently the Admiral struck a-ground, and had soon after her stern and hinder parts beaten in pieces. Whereupon the rest (that is to say, the Frigate in which was the General, and the Golden Hind) cast about East-south-east, bearing to the South, even for our lives into the wind's eye, because that way carried us to the seaward. Making out from this danger, we sounded, one while seven fathom, then five fathom, then four fathom and less; again deeper, immediately four fathom then and three fathom, the sea going mightily and high. At last

we recovered (God be thanked) in some despair, to sea-room enough.

In this distress, we had vigilant eye unto the Admiral, whom we saw cast away, without power to give the men succour; neither could we espy any of the men that leaped overboard to save themselves, either in the same Pinnacle or Cock, or upon rafters, and such-like means—presenting themselves to men in those extremities: for we desired to save the men by every possible means. But all in vain, since God had determined their ruin: yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat up and down as near unto the wreck as was possible for us, looking out, if by good hap we might espy any of them.

This was a heavy and grievous event, to lose at one blow our chief ship freighted with great provision, gathered together with much travail, care, long time, and difficulty. But more was the loss of our men, which perished to the number almost of a hundred souls.

No less heavy was the loss of the Captain Maurice Browne, a virtuous, honest, and discreet Gentleman, overseen only in liberty given late before to men, that ought to have been restrained;¹ who showed himself a man resolved, and never unprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedy appeared, by report of them that escaped this wreck miraculously, as shall be hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recovering the ship, and

¹ That is, "had overlooked his duty in one point only, in giving liberty to men who ought to have been restrained." Captain Browne had been in command of a ship called the "Swallow," but had been unable to prevent his mutinous crew from committing various acts of piracy. The "Swallow" had been sent back from Newfoundland to England with the sick men of the expedition, and Captain Browne had taken command of the "Delight."

that men began to give over, and to save themselves, the Captain was advised before to shift also for his life, by the Pinnace at the stern of the ship: but refusing that counsel, he would not give example with the first to leave the ship, but used all means to exhort his people not to despair, nor so to leave off their labour; choosing rather to die, than to incur infamy, by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to have perished through his default, showing an ill precedent unto his men, by leaving the ship first himself. With this mind he mounted upon the highest deck, where he attended imminent death, and unavoidable: how long, I leave it to God, who withdraweth not His comfort from His servants at such times.

In the mean season, certain, to the number of fourteen persons, leaped into a small Pinnace (the bigness of a Thames barge, which was made in the New found land) cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselves to God's mercy, amidst the storm, and rage of sea and winds, destitute of food, not so much as a drop of fresh water. The boat seeming overcharged in foul weather with company, Edward Headly a valiant soldier, and well reputed of his company, preferring the greater to the lesser, thought better that some of them perished than all; made this motion to cast lots, and them to be thrown overboard upon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boat, which other-ways seemed impossible to live, offered himself with the first, content to take his adventure gladly: which nevertheless Richard Clarke, that was Master of the Admiral, and one of this number, refused, advising to abide God's pleasure, who was able to save all, as well as a few.

The boat was carried before the wind, continuing six days and nights in the Ocean, and arrived at last with the men (alive, but weak) upon the New found land; saving that the foresaid Headly (who had been late sick), and another called of us Brasil, of his travel into those Countries, died by the way, famished, and less able to hold out, than those of better health.

Thus whom God delivered from drowning, He appointed to be famished; who doth give limits to man's times, and ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying: whom again He will preserve, neither Sea nor famine can confound. For those that arrived upon the New found land, were brought into France by certain Frenchmen, then being upon that coast.

After this heavy chance, we continued in beating the sea up and down, expecting when the weather would clear up, that we might yet bear in with the land, which we judged not far off, either the continent or some Island. For we many times, and in sundry places found ground at 50, 45, 40 fathoms, and less. The ground coming upon our lead, being sometimes oozy sand, and otherwhile a broad shell, with a little sand about it.

Our people lost courage daily after this ill success, the weather continuing thick and blustering, with increase of cold; Winter drawing on, which took from them all hope of amendment, settling an assurance of worse weather to grow upon us every day. The Lee-side of us lay full of flats and dangers inevitable, if the wind blew hard at South. Some again doubted we were engulfed in the Bay of S. Laurence, the coast full of dangers, and unto us unknown. But above all, provision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone, with loss of our Admiral.

Those in the Frigate were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly: whereupon they besought the General to return for England, before they all perished. And to them of the Golden Hind, they made signs of their distress, pointing to their mouths, and to their clothes thin and ragged: then immediately they also of the Golden Hind, grew to be of the same opinion and desire to return home.

The former reasons having also moved the General to have compassion of his poor men, in whom he saw no want of good will, but of means fit to perform the action they came for, resolved upon retire: and calling the Captain and Master of the Hind, he yielded them many reasons enforcing this unexpected return; withal protesting himself greatly satisfied with that he had seen, and knew already.

Reiterating these words, "Be content, we have seen enough, and take no care of expense past: I will set you forth royally the next Spring, if God send us safe home. Therefore I pray you let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the elements."

Omitting circumstance, how unwillingly the Captain and Master of the Hind condescended to this motion, his own company can testify: yet comforted with the General's promises of a speedy return at Spring, and induced by other apparent reasons, proving an impossibility to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

So upon Saturday in the afternoon, the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned back for England; at which very instant, even in winding about, there passed along between us and towards the land which we now



forsook, a very lion to our seeming, in shape, hair and colour; not swimming after the manner of a beast by moving of his feet, but rather sliding upon the water with his whole body (excepting the legs) in sight, neither yet diving under, and again rising above the water, as the manner is, of Whales, Dolphins, Tunnies, Porpoises, and all other fish: but confidently showing himself above water without hiding, notwithstanding we presented ourselves in open view and gesture to amaze him; as all creatures will be commonly, at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ugly demonstration of long teeth, and glaring eyes; and to bid us a farewell (coming right against the Hind) he sent forth a horrible voice, roaring or bellowing as doth a lion; which spec-

tacle we all beheld so far as we were able to discern the same, as men prone to wonder at every strange thing, as this doubtless was, to see a lion in the Ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the General himself, I forbear to deliver: but he took it for Good Omen, rejoicing that he was to war against such an enemy, if it were the devil.

The wind was large for England at our return, but very high, and the sea rough; insomuch as the Frigate wherein the General went was almost swallowed up.

Monday in the afternoon, we passed in the sight of Cape Race; having made as much way in little more than two days and nights back again, as before we had done in eight days from Cape Race, unto the place where our ship perished. Which hindrance thitherward, and speed back again, is to be imputed unto the swift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our return.

This Monday the General came aboard the Hind to have the Surgeon of the Hind to dress his foot, which he hurt by treading upon a nail: and what time we comforted each other with hope of hard success to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to carry out lights always by night, that we might keep together, he departed into his Frigate, being by no means to be entreated to tarry in the Hind, which had been more for his security. Immediately after, followed a sharp storm, which we overpassed for that time. Praised be God.

The weather fair, the General came aboard the Hind again, to make merry together with the Captain, Master, and company, which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning until night. During which time

there passed sundry discourses, touching affairs past, and to come; lamenting greatly the loss of his great ship, more of the men, but most of all of his books and notes.

I will hasten to the end of this tragedy, which must be knit up in the person of our General. And as it was God's ordinance upon him, even so the vehement persuasion and entreaty of his friends could nothing avail, to divert him from a wilful resolution of going through in his Frigate; which was over-charged upon their decks, with fights, nettings, and small artillery, too cumbersome for so small a boat, that was to pass through the Ocean sea at that season of the year, when by course we might expect much storm of foul weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

But when he was entreated by the Captain, Master, and other his well-willers of the Hind, not to venture in the Frigate, this was his answer: "I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils." And in very truth, he was urged to be so over-hard, by hard reports given of him, that he was afraid of the sea; albeit this was rather rashness, than advised resolution, to prefer the wind of a vain report to the weight of his own life.

Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had provision out of the Hind, such as was wanting aboard his Frigate. And so we committed him to God's protection, and set him aboard his Pinnace, we being more than 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Islands of Azores South of us, yet we then keeping much to the North, until we had got into the height and elevation of England: we met with very foul weather, and terrible seas,

breaking short and high, Pyramid-wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceed either of hilly grounds high and low within the sea (as we see hills and dales upon the land), upon which the seas do mount and fall: or else the cause proceedeth of diversity of winds, shifting often in sundry points: all which having power to move the great Ocean, which again is not presently settled, so many seas do encounter together, as there had been diversity of winds. Howsoever it cometh to pass, men which all their lifetime had occupied the Sea, never saw more outrageous Seas. We had also upon our mainyard, an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen do call *Castor and Pollux*.¹ But we had only one, which they take an evil sign of more tempest: the same is usual in storms.

Monday the ninth of September, in the afternoon, the Frigate was near cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered: and giving forth signs of joy, the General sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out unto us in the *Hind* (so oft as we did approach within hearing) "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land." Reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a soldier, resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testify he was.

The same Monday night, about twelve of the clock, or not long after, the Frigate being ahead of us in the *Golden Hind*, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment, we lost the sight; and withal our watch cried, the General was cast away, which was too

¹ An electrical phenomenon called "*St. Elmo's fire*," which sometimes occurs on the masts and spars of a ship, generally during a thunderstorm. When two of these lights appeared it was regarded as a sign that the storm was nearly over.

true. For in that moment, the Frigate was devoured and swallowed up of the Sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and ever after, until we arrived upon the coast of England: omitting no small sail at sea, unto which we gave not the tokens between us, agreed upon, to have perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.

In great torment of weather, and peril of drowning, it pleased God to send safe home the Golden Hind; which arrived in Falmouth, the 22 day of September, being Sunday, not without as great danger escaped in a flaw, coming from the South-east, with such thick mist, that we could not discern land to put in right with the Haven.

THE CAPTAINS PHILIP AMADAS AND ARTHUR BARLOWE DISCOVER "VIRGINIA"

Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe were sent by Sir Walter Raleigh to search the coast of America for a spot in which to "plant" or settle a colony. They reached the coast at some point in what is now known as North Carolina, and sailing northwards landed at the Islands of Wokokon and Roanoak. The name "Virginia" given to this region by Queen Elizabeth included a much wider area than that covered by the modern State. The following report was sent by Captain Barlowe to Sir Walter Raleigh. (See Map on page vii.)

THE 27 day of April, in the year of our redemption 1584, we departed the West of England, with two barques well furnished with men and victuals; having received our last and perfect directions by your letters,

confirming the former instructions and commandments, delivered by yourself at our leaving the river of Thames. And I think it a matter both unnecessary, for the manifest discovery of the Country, as also for tediousness' sake, to remember unto you the diurnal of our course, sailing thither and returning: only I have presumed to present unto you this brief discourse, by which you may judge how profitable this land is likely to succeed; as well to yourself, (by whose direction and charge, and by whose servants this our discovery hath been performed) as also to her Highness, and the Commonwealth; in which we hope your wisdom will be satisfied, considering that as much by us hath been brought to light, as by those small means, and number of men we had, could any way have been expected or hoped for.

The tenth of May we arrived at the Canaries, and the tenth of June in this present year, we were fallen with the Islands of the West Indies, keeping a more Southeasterly course than was needful, because we doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, disboggling between the Cape of Florida and Havana, had been of greater force than afterwards we found it to be. At which Islands we found the air very unwholesome, and our men grew for the most part ill disposed: so that having refreshed ourselves with sweet water, and fresh victual, we departed the twelfth day of our arrival there. These Islands, with the rest adjoining, are so well known to yourself, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

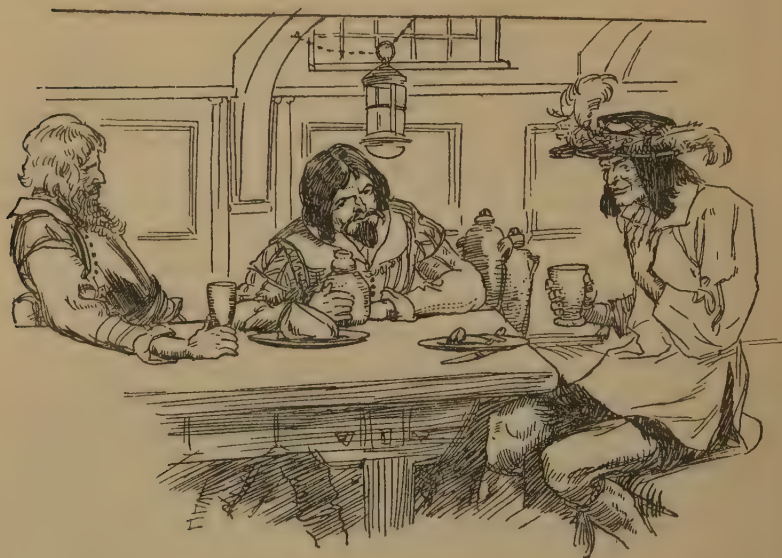
The second of July, we found shoal water, where we smelt so sweet and so strong a smell, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all

kind of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be far distant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but slack sail, the fourth of the same month we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firm land; and we sailed along the same a hundred and twenty English miles before we could find any entrance, or river issuing into the Sea. The first that appeared unto us, we entered, though not without some difficulty, and cast anchor about three harquesbus-shot within the haven's mouth, on the left hand of the same: and after thanks given to God for our safe arrival thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoining, and "to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, as rightful Queen and Princess of the same"; and after delivered the same over to your use, according to her Majesty's grant, and letters patents, under her Highness's great Seal. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises, we viewed the land about us, being, whereas we first landed, very sandy and low towards the water's side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the Sea overflowed them; of which we found such plenty, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the green soil on the hills, as in the plains; as well on every little shrub, as also climbing towards the tops of high Cedars, that I think in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and myself having seen those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

We passed from the Sea-side towards the tops of those hills next adjoining, being but of mean height; and from

thence we beheld the Sea on both sides to the North, and to the South, finding no end, any of both ways. This land lay stretching itself to the West, which after we found to be but an Island of twenty miles long, and not above six miles broad. Under the bank or hill whereon we stood, we beheld the valleys replenished with goodly Cedar trees; and having discharged our harquebus-shot, such a flock of Cranes (the most part white) arose under us, with such a cry redoubled by many echoes, as if an army of men had shouted all together.

This Island had many goodly woods full of Deer, Conies, Hares, and Fowl, even in the midst of Summer in incredible abundance. The woods are not such as you find in Bohemia, Moscovia, or Hircania, barren and fruitless, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world, far bettering the Cedars of the Azores, of the Indies, or Lybanus; Pines, Cypress, Sassafras, the Lentisk, or the tree that beareth the Mastic, the tree that beareth the rind of black Cinnamon of which Master Winter brought from the straits of Magellan, and many other of excellent smell and quality. We remained by the side of this Island two whole days before we saw any people of the country: the third day we espied one small boat rowing towards us, having in it three persons: this boat came to the Island side, four harquebus-shot from our ships; and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shore-side towards us, and we being then all within board, he walked up and down upon the point of the land next unto us. Then the Master and the Pilot of the Admiral, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captain Philip Amadas, myself, and others rowed to the land, whose coming this fellow attended, never making any show of



fear or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not understood by us, we brought him with his own good liking, aboard the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat and some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very well: and after having viewed both barques, he departed, and went to his own boat again, which he had left in a little Cove or Creek adjoining. As soon as he was two bow-shot into the water, he fell to fishing, and in less than half an hour, he had laden his boat as deep as it could swim, with which he came again to the point of the land, and there he divided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the other to the pinnacle: which, after he had (as much

as he might) requited the former benefits received, departed out of our sight.

The next day there came unto us divers boats, and in one of them the King's brother, accompanied with forty or fifty men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civil as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the King is called Wingina, the country Wingandacoa, and now by her Majesty Virginia. The manner of his coming was in this sort: he left his boats all together as the first man did, a little from the ships by the shore, and came along to the place over against the ships, followed with forty men. When he came to the place, his servants spread a long mat upon the ground, on which he sat down, and at the other end of the mat four others of his company did the like; the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat afar off. When we came to the shore to him with our weapons, he never moved from his place, nor any of the other four, nor never mistrusted any harm to be offered from us, but sitting still he beckoned us to come and sit by him; which we performed. And being set, he made all signs of joy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and afterwards on ours, to show we were all one, smiling and making show the best he could of all love and familiarity. After he had made a long speech unto us, we presented him with divers things, which he received very joyfully and thankfully. None of the company dared speak one word all the time: only the four which were at the other end, spake one in the other's ear very softly.

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children revered: the King himself in person was, at our being there, sore wounded in a fight which he had

with the King of the next country, called Wingina, and was shot in two places through the body, and once clean through the thigh, but yet he recovered: by reason whereof, and for that he lay at the chief town of the country, being six days' journey off, we saw him not at all.

After we had presented this his brother with such things as we thought he liked, we likewise gave somewhat to the others that sat with him on the mat: but presently he arose and took all from them and put it into his own basket, making signs and tokens, that all things ought to be delivered unto him, and the rest were but his servants and followers. A day or two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had, for Chamois, Buff, and Deer skins. When we showed him all our packet of merchandise, of all things that he saw, a bright tin dish most pleased him; which he presently took up and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brim thereof and hung it about his neck, making signs that it would defend him against his enemies' arrows: for those people maintain a deadly and terrible war, with the people and King adjoining. We exchanged our tin dish for twenty skins, worth twenty Crowns, or twenty Nobles: and a copper kettle for fifty skins, worth fifty Crowns. They offered us good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for knives, and would have given anything for swords: but we would not depart with any. After two or three days the King's brother came aboard the ships, and drank wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof: and after a few days overpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter and two or three children. His wife was very well favoured, of mean stature, and very bash-

ful: she had on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same: about her forehead she had a band of white Coral, and so had her husband many times: in her ears she had bracelets of pearls hanging down to her middle (whereof we delivered your worship a little bracelet), and those were of the bigness of good peas. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either ear, and some of the children of the King's brother, and other noblemen, have five or six in either ear: he himself had upon his head a broad plate of gold, or copper; for being unpolished we knew not what metal it should be, neither would he by any means suffer us to take it off his head; but feeling it, it would bow very easily. His apparel was as his wife's, only the women wear their hair long on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowish, and their hair black for the most part, and yet we saw children that had very fine auburn and chestnut-coloured hair.

After that these women had been there, there came down from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, coral, divers kinds of dyes very excellent, and exchanged with us: but when Granganimeo the King's brother was present, none dared trade but himself: except such as wear red pieces of copper on their heads like himself: for that is the difference between the noblemen, and the governors of countries, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you have understood since by these men which we brought home, that no people in the world carry more respect to their King, Nobility, and Governors, than these do. The King's brother's wife, when she came to us (as she did many

times) was followed with forty or fifty women always: and when she came into the ship, she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse and one or two more. The King's brother always kept this order; as many boats as he would come withal to the ships, so many fires would he make on the shore afar off, to the end we might understand with what strength and company he approached. Their boats are made of one tree, either of Pine or of Pitch trees: a wood not commonly known to our people, nor found growing in England. They have no edge-tools to make them withal: if they have any they are very few, and those it seems they had twenty years since; which, as those two men declared, was out of a wreck which happened upon their coast of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storm and outrageous weather; whereof none of the people were saved, but only the ship, or some part of her, being cast upon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nails and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boats is thus: they burn down some great tree, or take such as are windfallen, and putting gum and rosin upon one side thereof, they set fire into it; and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coal with their shells, and ever, where they would burn it deeper or wider, they lay on gums, which burn away the timber; and by this means they fashion very fine boats, and such as will transport twenty men. Their oars are like scoops, and many times they set with long poles, as the depth serveth.

The King's brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and divers other things which we had: and offered to lay a great box of pearl in gage for them: but we

refused it for this time, because we would not make them know that we esteemed thereof, until we had understood in what places of the country the pearl grew: which now your Worship doth very well understand.

He was very just of his promise: for many times we delivered him merchandise upon his word, but ever he came within the day and performed his promise. He sent us every day a brace or two of fat Bucks, Conies, Hares, Fish the best of the world. He sent us divers kinds of fruits—Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourds, Peas, and divers roots, and fruits very excellent good; and of their Country corn, which is very white, fair and well tasted, and groweth three times in five months: in May they sow, in July they reap: in June they sow, in August they reap: in July they sow, in September they reap: only they cast the corn into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turf with a wooden mattock, or pickaxe. Ourselves proved the soil, and put some of our Peas in the ground, and in ten days they were of fourteen inches high: they have also Beans very fair, of divers colours and wonderful plenty: some growing naturally, and some in their gardens, and so have they both wheat and oats.

The soil is the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful and wholesome of all the world: there are above fourteen several sweet-smelling timber trees, and the most part of their underwoods are Bays and such-like: they have those Oaks that we have, but far greater and better. After they had been divers times aboard our ships, myself, with seven more, went twenty miles into the River that runneth toward the City of Skicoak, which River they call Occam: and the evening following, we came to an Island,

which they call Roanoak, distant from the harbour by which we entered, seven leagues: and at the North end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharp trees, to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnpike very artificially. When we came towards it, standing near unto the water's side, the wife of Granganimeo the King's brother, came running out to meet us very cheerfully and friendly; her husband was not then in the village. Some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on shore for the beating of the billow: others she appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground, and others to bring our oars into the house for fear of stealing. When we were come into the outer room, having five rooms in her house, she caused us to sit down by a great fire; and after took off our clothes and washed them, and dried them again: some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feet in warm water, and she herself took great pains to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dress some meat for us to eat.

After we had thus dried ourselves, she brought us into the inner room, where she set on the board running along the house, some wheat like furmenty; sodden Venison, and roasted; fish sodden, boiled, and roasted; Melons raw, and sodden; roots of divers kinds, and divers fruits. Their drink is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth they drink wine, and for want of casks to keep it, all the year after they drink water; but it is sodden with Ginger in it, and black Cinnamon, and sometimes Sassafras, and divers other wholesome and medicinable herbs and trees. We were entertained with all love and kindness,

and with as much bounty (after their manner) as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age. The people only care how to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soil affordeth: their meat is very well sodden, and they make broth very sweet and savory: their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white and sweet, their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber: within the place where they feed was their lodging, and within that their Idol, which they worship, of whom they speak incredible things. While we were at meat, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bows and arrows from hunting, whom when we espied, we began to look one towards another, and offered to reach our weapons: but as soon as she espied our mistrust, she was very much moved, and caused some of her men to run out, and take away their bows and arrows and break them; and withal beat the poor fellows out of the gate again. When we departed in the evening and would not tarry all night, she was very sorry, and gave us into our boat our supper half dressed, pots and all, and brought us to our boat side; in which we lay all night, removing the same a pretty distance from the shore. She perceiving our jealousy, was much grieved, and sent divers men and thirty women, to sit all night on the bank side by us; and sent us into our boats five mats to cover us from the rain, using very many words to entreat us to rest in their houses: but because we were few men, and if we had miscarried, the voyage had been in very great danger, we durst not adventure anything, though there was no cause of doubt:

for a more kind and loving people there cannot be found in the world, as far as we have hitherto had trial.

Beyond this Island there is the main land; and over against this Island falleth into this spacious water, the great river called Occam by the inhabitants; on which standeth a town called Pomeiock, and six days' journey from the same is situate their greatest city, called Skicoak, which this people affirm to be very great: but the Savages were never at it, only they speak of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they have heard affirm it to be above one hour's journey about.

Into this river falleth another great river, called Cipo, in which there is found great store of Mussels in which there are pearls: likewise there descendeth into this Occam, another river, called Nomopana, on the one side whereof standeth a great town called Chawanook; and the Lord of that town and country is called Pooneno; this Pooneno is not subject to the King of Wingandacoa, but is a free Lord: beyond this country there is another King, whom they call Menatonon, and these three Kings are in league with each other. Towards the South-west, four days' journey is situate a town called Sequotan, which is the Southernmost town of Wingandacoa, near unto which, six and twenty years past there was a ship cast away; whereof some of the people were saved, and those were white people, whom the country people preserved.

And after ten days remaining in an out Island uninhabited, called Wocokon, they with the help of some of the dwellers of Secuotan, fastened two boats of the country together, and made masts unto them, and sails of their shirts; and having taken into them such victuals

as the country yielded, they departed after they had remained in this out Island 3 weeks. But shortly after, it seemed they were cast away, for the boats were found upon the coast, cast a-land in another Island adjoining: other than these, there was never any people apparelled, or white of colour, either seen or heard of amongst these people; and these aforesaid were seen only of the inhabitants of Secotan; which appeared to be very true, for they wondered marvellously when we were amongst them at the whiteness of our skins, ever coveting to touch our breasts, and to view the same. Besides, they had our ships in marvellous admiration, and all things else were so strange unto them, as it appeared that none of them had ever seen the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but an harquebus, they would tremble thereat for very fear, and for the strangeness of the same: for the weapons which themselves use are bows and arrows: the arrows are but of small canes, headed with a sharp shell, or tooth of a fish, sufficient enough to kill a naked man. Their swords be of wood hardened: likewise they use wooden breastplates for their defence. They have besides a kind of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharp horns of a stag, or other beast. When they go to wars they carry about with them their Idol, of whom they ask counsel, as the Romans were wont of the Oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march towards the battle, instead of drums and trumpets: their wars are very cruel and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their civil dissensions which have happened of late years amongst them, the people are marvellously wasted, and in some places the country left desolate.

Adjoining to this country aforesaid called Secotan, be-



When they go to wars, they carry about with them their idol

ginneth a country called Pomovik, belonging to another King whom they call Piamacum; and this King is in league with the next King adjoining towards the setting of the sun, and the country Newsiok, situate upon a goodly river called Neus: these Kings have mortal war with Wingina King of Wingandacoa. But about two years past, there was a peace made between the King Piamacum, and the Lord of Secotan, as these men which we have brought with us to England, have given us to understand: but there remaineth a mortal malice in the Secotanes, for many injuries and slaughters done upon them by this Piamacum. They invited divers men, and thirty women of the best of his country, to their town to a feast: and when they were altogether merry, and praying before their Idol, (which is nothing else but a mere illusion of the devil) the captain or Lord of the town, came suddenly upon them, and slew them every one, reserving the women and children: and these two have oftentimes since, persuaded us to surprise Piamacum his town, having promised and assured us, that there will be found in it great store of commodities. But whether their persuasion be to the end they may be revenged of their enemies, or for the love they bear to us, we leave that to the trial hereafter.

Beyond this Island called Roanoak, are main Islands very plentiful of fruits and other natural increases, together with many towns, and villages, along the side of the continent, some bounding upon the Islands, and some stretching up farther into the land.

When we first had sight of this country, some thought the first land we saw to be the continent: but after we entered into the Haven, we saw before us another

mighty long Sea: for there lieth along the coast a tract of Islands, two hundred miles in length, adjoining to the Ocean sea, and between the Islands, two or three entrances. When you are entered between them (these Islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places six miles broad, in some places less, in few more) then there appeareth another great Sea, containing in breadth in some places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles over before you come unto the continent. And in this enclosed Sea there are above an hundred Islands of divers bignesses, whereof one is sixteen miles long, at which we were; finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly Cedars, and divers other sweet woods, full of currants, of flax, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leisure to view. Besides this Island there are many, as I have said; some of two, of three, of four, of five miles, some more, some less; most beautiful and pleasant to behold, replenished with Deer, Conies, Hares and divers beasts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance.

They returned to England and "brought home also two of the Savages, being lusty men, whose names were Wanchese and Mantoo."

VIRGINIA: THE LANDING OF THE
FIRST COLONY

Amadas and Barlowe, having taken possession in the Queen's name, brought back so favourable a report of the country they had discovered that Raleigh decided to send out a permanent colony. The colonists, with Ralph Lane as their "Governor," numbered about a hundred men and seventeen women. They were taken over in seven ships under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, and settled in the Island of Roanoak. The Indian, Manteo, went with them and played an important part in the events which followed.

The 1 day of June we anchored at Isabella, on the North side of Hispaniola.

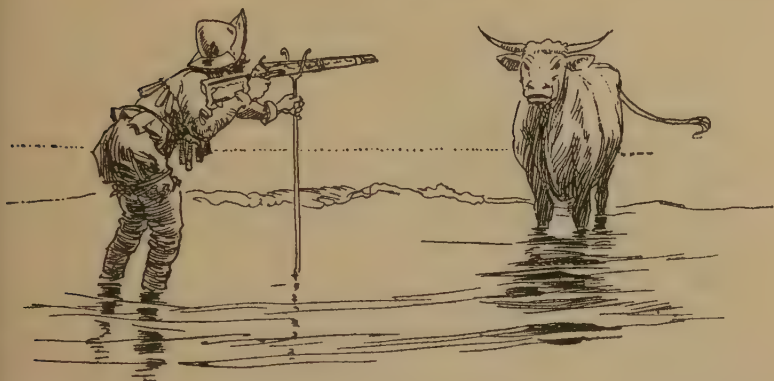
The 3 day of June, the Governor of Isabella, and Captain of the Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of sundry Spaniards, who had been well entertained aboard our ships by our General, that in our fleet were many brave and gallant Gentlemen, who greatly desired to see the Governor aforesaid; he thereupon sent gentle commendations to our General, promising within few days to come to him in person, which he performed accordingly.

The 5 day, the aforesaid Governor accompanied with a lusty Friar, and twenty other Spaniards, with their servants, and Negroes, came down to the Sea-side, where our ships rode at anchor; who being seen, our General manned immediately the most part of his boats with the chief men of our Fleet, every man appointed, and furnished in the best sort. At the landing of our General, the Spanish Governor received him very courteously, and the Spanish Gentlemen saluted our English Gentlemen, and their inferior sort did also salute our Soldiers and

Seamen, liking our men, and likewise their qualities, although at the first they seemed to stand in fear of us, and of so many of our boats, whereof they desired that all might not land their men; yet in the end, the courtesies that passed on both sides were so great, that all fear and mistrust on the Spaniards' part was abandoned.

In the meantime, while our English General and the Spanish Governor discoursed betwixt them of divers matters, as of the state of the Country, the multitude of the Towns and people, and the commodities of the Island, our men provided two banqueting houses covered with green boughs, the one for the Gentlemen, the other for the servants; and a sumptuous banquet was brought in, served by us all in plate, with the sound of trumpets, and consort of music; wherewith the Spaniards were more than delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniards in recompense of our courtesy, caused a great herd of white bulls and kine to be brought together from the mountains, and appointed for every Gentleman and Captain that would ride, a horse ready saddled, and then singled out three of the best of them to be hunted by horsemen after their manner, so that the pastime grew very pleasant for the space of three hours, wherein all three of the beasts were killed; whereof one took the Sea, and there was slain with a musket. After this sport, many rare presents and gifts were given and bestowed on both parts; and the next day we played the Merchants in bargaining with them by way of truck and exchange of divers of their commodities; as horses, mares, kine, bulls, goats, swine, sheep, bull-hides, sugar, ginger, pearl, tobacco, and such-like commodities of the Island.

The 7 day we departed with great goodwill from the



Spaniards from the Island of Hispaniola: but the wiser sort do impute this great show of friendship and courtesy used towards us by the Spaniards, rather to the force that we were of, and the vigilance, and watchfulness that was amongst us, than to any hearty goodwill or sure friendly entertainment: for doubtless if they had been stronger than we, we might have looked for no better courtesy at their hands, than Master John Hawkins received at Saint John de Ullua,¹ or John Oxnam near the Straits of Darien,² and divers others of our Countrymen in other places.

The 8 day we anchored at a small Island to take Seals, which in that place we understood to have been in great quantity, where the General and certain others with him in the pinnace, were in very great danger to have been all cast away; but by the help of God they escaped the hazard, and returned aboard the Admiral in safety.

The 9 day we arrived and landed in the Isle of Caycos,

¹ See page 131.

² See page 144.

in which Island we searched for salt-ponds, upon the advertisement and information of a Portugal: who in deed abused our General and us, deserving a halter for his hire, if it had so pleased us.

The 12 we anchored at Guanima, and landed.

The 15 and 16 we anchored and landed at Cyguateo.

The 20 we fell with the main of Florida.

The 23 we were in great danger of a wreck on a breach called the Cape of Feare.

The 24 we came to anchor in a harbour, where we caught in one tide so much fish as would have yielded us twenty pounds in London: this was our first landing in Florida.

The 26 we came to anchor at Wocokon.

The 29 we weighed anchor to bring the Tyger into the harbour; where through the unskilfulness of the Master whose name was Fernando, the Admiral struck on ground, and sunk.

The 3 we sent word of our arriving at Wocokon, to Wingina at Roanoak.

The 6 M. John Arundel was sent to the main, and Manteo with him: and Captain Aubry and Captain Boniten the same day were sent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left there with 30 other by Captain Reymond, some 20 days before.

The 8 Captain Aubry and Captain Boniten returned, with two of our men found by them, to us at Wocokon.

The 11 day the General, accompanied in his Tilt boat with Master John Arundel, Master Stukeley, and divers other Gentlemen; Master Lane, Master Candish, Master Hariot, and twenty others in the new pinnace; Captain Amadas, Captain Clarke, with ten others in a shipboat;

Francis Brooke, and John White in another shipboat, passed over the water from Wocokon to the mainland, victualled for eight days; in which voyage we first discovered the towns of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc and Secotan, and also the great lake called by the Savages Paquipe, with divers other places; and so returned with that discovery to our Fleet.

The 12 we came to the Town of Pomeiok.

The 13 we passed by water to Aquascogok.

The 15 we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the Savages.

The 16 we returned thence, and one of our boats, with the Admiral, was sent to Aquascogok, to demand a silver cup which one of the Savages had stolen from us; and not receiving it according to his promise, we burnt and spoiled their corn and Town, all the people being fled.

The 18 we returned from the discovery of Secotan, and the same day came aboard our Fleet riding at Wocokon.

The 1 our Fleet anchoring at Wocokon, we weighed anchor for Hatorask.

The 27 our Fleet anchored at Hatorask, and there we rested.

The 29 Grangimo brother to King Wingina, came aboard the Admiral, and Manteo with him.

The 2 the Admiral was sent to Weapomeiok.

The 5 M. John Arundell was sent for England.

The 25 our General weighed anchor, and set sail for England.

About the 31 he took a Spanish ship of 300 tons richly laden, boarding her with a boat made with boards

of chests, which fell asunder, and sunk at the ship's side, as soon as ever he and his men were out of it.

The 10 of September, by foul weather the General, then shipped in the prize, lost sight of the Tyger.

The 6 the Tyger fell with the Landes end, and the same day came to anchor at Falmouth.

The 18 the General came with the prize to Plymouth, and was courteously received by divers of his worshipful friends.

THE CONSPIRACY OF PEMISAPAN: FATE OF THE FIRST COLONY

Grenville's ships having returned to England, the colonists were left to found a settlement. Unfortunately they ill-treated the Indian inhabitants, and the following rebellion, or "conspiracy," was the result. The colonists were in great difficulty when they were rescued by Drake. The story is told by Ralph Lane.

ENSENORE a Savage, father to Pemisapan, being the only friend to our nation that we had amongst them and about the King, died the 20 of April 1586. He alone had before opposed himself in their consultations against all matters proposed against us, which both the King and all the rest of them after Grangemoe's death,¹ were very willing to have preferred. And he was not only by the mere providence of God during his life, a means to save us from hurt, as poisonings and such like, but also to do us very great good, and singularly in this.

¹ Grangemoe is almost certainly the same as the Grangimo in Grenville's story, and the Granganimeo of Amadas and Barlowe. He was brother to King Wingina, who had changed his name to Pemisapan.

The King was advised and of himself disposed, as a ready means to have assuredly brought us to ruin, in the month of March 1586 himself also with all his Savages to have run away from us, and to have left his ground in the Island unsowed: which if he had done, there had been no possibility in common reason, (but by the immediate hand of God,) that we could have been preserved from starving out of hand. For at that time we had no weirs for fish, neither could our men skill of the making of them, neither had we one grain of Corn for seed to put into the ground.

In mine absence on my voyage¹ they had raised a bruit among themselves, that I and my company were part slain, and part starved. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starved, but the other false.

Nevertheless until my return, it took such effect in Pemisapan's breast, and in those against us, that they grew into contempt of us.

But even in the beginning of this bruit I returned, which when he saw contrary to his expectation, that myself, and my company were all safe, it did not a little assuage all devices against us.

Within certain days after my return from the said journey, Menatonon sent a messenger to visit his son the prisoner with me,² and sent me certain pearl for a present; or rather, as Pemisapan told me, for the ransom of his

¹ Lane had led an expedition to the interior in an unsuccessful search for a copper-mine.

² Menatonon was an Indian Chief who had been taken prisoner by the English, and released for a ransom: his son, "young Skiko," was still held as a hostage.

son, and therefore I refused them. But the greatest cause of his sending then, was to signify unto me that he had commanded Okisko, King of Weopomiok, to yield himself servant and homager to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh: to perform which commandment received from Menatonon, the said Okisko, jointly with this Menatonon's messenger, sent four and twenty of his principallest men to Roanoak, to Pemisapan, to signify that they were ready to perform the same; and so had sent those his men to let me know that from that time forward, he and his successors were to acknowledge her Majesty their only Sovereign, and next unto her, as is aforesaid.

All which being done, and acknowledged by them all, in the presence of Pemisapan's father, and all his Savages in counsel then with him, it did for the time thoroughly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward us: Insomuch as forthwith Ensenore won this resolution of him, that out of hand he should go about, and withal to cause his men to set up weirs forthwith for us: both which he at that present went in hand withal, and did so labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had sowed a good quantity of ground, so much as had been sufficient to have fed our whole company (God blessing the growth) and that by the belly, for a whole year; besides that he gave us a certain plot of ground for ourselves to sow. All which put us in marvellous comfort, if we could pass from April until the beginning of July, (which was to have been the beginning of their harvest,) that then a new supply out of England, or else our own store, would well enough maintain us. All our fear was of the two months betwixt; in which

mean space if the Savages should not help us with Cassavi and China, and that our weirs should fail us, (as often they did,) we might very well starve, notwithstanding the growing corn, like the starving horse in the stable with the growing grass, as the proverb is: which we very hardly had escaped, but only by the hand of God, as it pleased him to try us. For within few days after, as before is said, Ensenore our friend died; who was no sooner dead, but certain of our great enemies about Pemisapan were in hand again to put their old practices in ure against us; which were readily embraced, and all their former devices against us renewed, and new brought in question. There was no store of mischievous practices among them, and of all they resolved principally of this following.

Seven hundred of them [should] be armed at a day appointed to the main, and there lying close at the sign of fires, which should interchangeably be made on both sides, when Pemisapan with his troop above named should have executed me, and some of our Weroances (as they called all our principal officers); the main forces of the rest should have come over into the Island, where they meant to have dispatched the rest of the company, whom they did imagine to find both dismayed and dispersed abroad in the Island, seeking of crabs and fish to live withal. The manner of their enterprise was this.

Two principal men about Pemisapan, and very lusty fellows, with twenty more appointed to them, had the charge of my person to see an order taken for the same, which they meant should in this sort have been executed. In the dead time of the night they would have beset my house, and put fire in the reeds that the same was covered

with: meaning (as it was likely) that myself would have come running out of a sudden, amazed, in my shirt without arms, upon the instant whereof they would have knocked out my brains.

The same order was given to certain of his fellows, for M. Heriots: so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is said, and that as well for them of the fort, as for us at the town. Now to the end that we might be the fewer in number together, and so be the more easily dealt withal, (for in deed ten of us with our arms prepared, were a terror to a hundred of the best sort of them), they agreed and did immediately put it in practice, that they should not for any copper sell us any victuals whatsoever; besides that in the night they should send to have our weirs robbed, and also to cause them to be broken, and once being broken never to be repaired again by them. By this means the King stood assured that I must be enforced, for lack of sustenance there, to disband my company into sundry places to live upon shell fish, for so the Savages themselves do, going to Hatorask, Croatoan, and other places, fishing and hunting, while their grounds be in sowing, and their corn growing: which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew so extreme among us, our weirs failing us of fish, that I was enforced to send Captain Stafford with 20 with him to Croatoan, my Lord Admiral's Island, to serve two turns in one; that is to say, to feed himself and his company, and also to keep watch if any shipping came upon the coast, to warn us of the same. I sent M. Pridiox with the pinnace to Hatorask, and ten with him, with the Provost Marshal, to live there, and also to wait for shipping: also I sent every week

16 or 20 of the rest of the company to the main over against us, to live of Cassada and oysters.

The day of their assembly aforesaid at Roanoak was appointed the 10 of June. These mischiefs being all instantly upon me and my company to be put in execution, it stood me in hand to study how to prevent them, and also to save all others, which were at that time, as aforesaid, so far from me. Whereupon I sent to Pemisapan, to put suspicion out of his head, that I meant presently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the arrival of our fleet, (though I in truth had neither heard nor hoped for so good adventure); and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fish for my company, and to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some four days' provision to serve for my voyage.

He sent me word that he would himself come over to Roanoak, but from day to day he deferred. It was the last of May 1586 when all his own Savages began to make their assembly at Roanoak, at his commandment sent abroad unto them; and I resolved not to stay longer upon his coming over, since he meant to come with so good company, but thought good to go and visit him with such as I had, which I resolved to do the next day; but that night I meant to seize upon all the canoes about the Island, to keep him from advertisements.

But the town took the alarm before I meant it to them: the occasion was this. I had sent the Master of the light-horseman,¹ with a few with him, to gather up all the canoes in the setting of the Sun, and to take as many as were going from us to [the main], but to suffer any that came from thence to land. He met with a Canoe going

¹ Light-horseman: the old name for a light boat

from the shore, and overthrew the Canoe, and cut off two Savages' heads. This was not done so secretly but he was discovered from the shore; whereupon the cry arose: for in truth they, privy to their own villainous purposes against us, held as good espial upon us, both day and night, as we did upon them.

The alarm given, they took themselves to their bows, and we to our arms: some three or four of them at the first were slain with our shot: the rest fled into the woods. The next morning with the light-horseman and one canoe, I went to [the main]; and being landed, sent Pemisapan word by one of his own Savages that met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complain unto him of Osocon, who the night past was conveying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an handlock. Hereupon the king did abide my coming to him, and finding myself amidst seven or eight of his principal Weroances and followers, (not regarding any of the common sort,) I gave the watchword agreed upon, (which was, "Christ our victory,") and immediately those his chief men and himself, had by the mercy of God for our deliverance, that which they had purposed for us. The king himself being shot through by the Colonel with a pistol, lying on the ground for dead, and I looking as watchfully for the saving of Manteo's friends, as others were busy that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started up, and ran away as though he had not been touched; insomuch as he overran all the company, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my petronel. In the end an Irishman serving me, one Nugent, and the deputy provost, undertook him; and following him in the woods, over-

took him: and I in some doubt lest we had lost both the king and my man, by our own negligence to have been intercepted by the Savages, we met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapan's head in his hand.

This fell out the first of June 1586, and the eight of the same came advertisement to me from captain Stafford, lying at my lord Admiral's Island, that he had discovered a great fleet of three and twenty sails: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet discern. He advised me to stand upon as good guard as I could.

The ninth of the said month he himself came unto me, having that night before, and that same day, travelled by land twenty miles; and I must truly report of him from the first to the last, he was the gentleman that never spared labour or peril either by land or water, fair weather or foul, to perform any service committed unto him.

He brought me a letter from the General, Sir Francis Drake,¹ with a most bountiful and honourable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action we were entered into; and that not only of victuals, munition, and clothing, but also of barques, pinnaces, and boats; they also by him to be victualled, manned, and furnished to my contentment.

The tenth day he arrived in the road of our bad harbour; and coming there to an anchor, the eleventh day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honourably to perform that which in writing and message he had most courteously offered; he having aforehand pro-

¹ Drake's rescue of the colony took place as he was returning to England after his capture of Cartagena. (See page 178.)

pounded the matter to all the captains of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

Hereupon calling such Captains and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as privy as myself to the General's offer: their whole request was to me, that considering the case that we stood in, the weakness of our company, the small number of the same; seeing furthermore, our hope for supply with Sir Richard Grenville, so undoubtedly promised us before Easter, not yet come, that therefore I would resolve myself with my company to go into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the General in all our names, that he would be pleased to give us present passage with him. Which request of ours by myself delivered unto him, he most readily assented unto; and so he sending immediately his pinnaces unto our Island for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was so boisterous, and the pinnaces so often on ground, that the most of all we had, with all our Cards, Books and writings, were by the Sailors cast overboard, the greater number of the fleet being much aggrieved with their long and dangerous abode in that miserable road.

From whence the General, in the name of the Almighty, weighing his anchors (having bestowed us among his fleet) for the relief of whom he had in that storm sustained more peril of wreck than in all his former most honourable actions against the Spaniards, with praises unto God for all, set sail the nineteenth of June 1586, and arrived in Portsmouth the seven and twentieth of July the same year.

SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE
LEAVES FIFTEEN MEN
IN VIRGINIA

IMMEDIATELY after the departing of our English Colony out of this paradise of the world, a ship sent and set forth at the charges of Sir Walter Raleigh and his direction, arrived at Hatorask; who after some time spent in seeking our Colony up in the country, and not finding them, returned into England.

About fourteen or fifteen days after the departure of the aforesaid ship, Sir Richard Grenville, General of Virginia, accompanied with three ships well appointed for the same voyage, arrived there; who not finding the aforesaid ship according to his expectation, nor hearing any news of our English Colony there seated, and left by him anno 1585, himself travelling up into divers places of the country, as well to see if he could hear any news of the Colony left there by him the year before, under the charge of Master Lane his deputy, as also to discover some places of the country; but after some time spent therein, not hearing any news of them, and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet unwilling to lose the possession of the country which Englishmen had so long held: after good deliberation, he determined to leave some men behind to retain possession of the Country: whereupon he landed fifteen men in the Isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with all manner of provision for two years, and so departed for England.

LANDING OF THE SECOND COLONY:
FATE OF THE FIFTEEN MEN

IN the year of our Lord 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh, intending to persevere in the planting of his Country of Virginia, prepared a new Colony of one hundred and fifty men to be sent thither, under the charge of John White, whom he appointed Governor; and also appointed unto him twelve Assistants, unto whom he gave a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia.

The two and twentieth of July we arrived safe at Hatorask, where our ship and pinnace anchored. The Governor went aboard the pinnace, accompanied with forty of his best men, intending to pass up to Roanoak forthwith; hoping there to find those fifteen Englishmen which Sir Richard Grenville had left there the year before, with whom he meant to have conference, concerning the state of the Country, and Savages; meaning after he had so done, to return again to the fleet, and pass along the coast to the Bay of Chesepiok, where we intended to make our seat and fort, according to the charge given us among other directions in writing, under the hand of Sir Walter Raleigh. But as soon as we were put with our pinnace from the ship, a Gentleman who was appointed to return for England, called to the sailors in the pinnace, charging them not to bring any of the planters back again, but to leave them in the Island, except the Governor, and two or three such as he approved; saying that the Summer was far spent, wherefore he would land all the planters in no other place. Unto this were all the sailors, both in the pinnace and ship, persuaded by the Master; wherefore it

booted not the Governor to contend with them, but passed to Roanoak, and the same night at sunset went a-land on the Island, in the place where our fifteen men were left; but we found none of them, nor any sign that they had been there, saving only we found the bones of one of those fifteen, which the Savages had slain long before.

The three and twentieth of July, the Governor with divers of his company walked to the North end of the Island, where Master Ralph Lane had his fort, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the year before, where we hoped to find some signs or certain knowledge of our fifteen men. When we came thither, we found the fort razed down, but all the houses standing unhurt; saving that the nether rooms of them, and also of the fort, were overgrown with Melons of divers sorts, and Deer within them, feeding on those Melons; so we returned to our company, without hope of ever seeing any of the fifteen men living.

The same day, order was given that every man should be employed for the repairing of those houses which we found standing, and also to make other new Cottages, for such as should need.

The 25 our Flyboat and the rest of our planters arrived all safe at Hatorask, to the great joy and comfort of the whole company.

The eight and twentieth, George Howe, one of our twelve assistants, was slain by divers Savages which were come over to Roanoak; either of purpose to espy our company, and what number we were, or else to hunt Deer, whereof were many in the Island. These Savages being secretly hidden among high reeds, where oftentimes they find the Deer asleep, and so kill them, espied

our man wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, save only a small forked stick, catching Crabs therewithal, and also being strayed two miles from his company, and shot at him in the water, where they gave him sixteen wounds with their arrows; and after they had slain him with their wooden swords, they beat his head in pieces, and fled over the water to the main.

On the thirtieth of July, Master Stafford and twenty of our men passed by water to the Island of Croatoan, with Manteo, who had his mother and many of his kindred dwelling in that Island; of whom we hoped to understand some news of our fifteen men, but especially to learn the disposition of the people of the country towards us, and to renew our old friendship with them. At our first landing they seemed as though they would fight with us; but perceiving us begin to march with our shot towards them, they turned their backs, and fled. Then Manteo their countryman, called to them in their own language, whom, as soon as they heard, they returned, and threw away their bows and arrows; and some of them came unto us, embracing and entertaining us friendly, desiring us not to gather or spoil any of their corn, for that they had but little. We answered them, that neither their corn nor any other thing of theirs should be diminished by any of us, and that our coming was only to renew the old love that was between us and them at the first, and to live with them as brethren and friends: which answer seemed to please them well, wherefore they requested us to walk up to their Town, who there feasted us after their manner, and desired us earnestly that there might be some token or badge given them of us, whereby we might know them to be our friends, when we met them

anywhere out of the Town or Island. They told us further, that for want of some such badge, divers of them were hurt the year before, being found out of the Island by Master Lane his company; whereof they shewed us one, which at that very instant lay lame, and had lien of that hurt ever since.

Also we understood by them of Croatoan, how that the 15 Englishmen left at Roanoak the year before, by Sir Richard Grenville, were suddenly set upon, by 30 men in manner following. They conveyed themselves secretly behind the trees, near the houses where our men carelessly lived; and having perceived that of those fifteen they could see but eleven only, two of those Savages appeared to the 11 Englishmen, calling to them by friendly signs, that but two of their chiefest men should come unarmed to speak with those two Savages, who seemed also to be unarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefest of our Englishmen went gladly to them; but whilst one of those Savages traitorously embraced one of our men, the other with his sword of wood, which he had secretly hidden under his mantle, struck him on the head and slew him; and presently the other eight and twenty Savages showed themselves. The other Englishman, perceiving this, fled to his company, whom the Savages pursued with their bows and arrows so fast, that the Englishmen were forced to take [to] the house, wherein all their victual and weapons were; but the Savages forthwith set the same on fire: by means whereof our men were forced to take up such weapons as came first to hand, and without order to run forth among the Savages, with whom they skirmished above an hour. In this skirmish another of our men was shot into the mouth with an arrow, where[of] he died;

and also one of the Savages was shot into the side by one of our men, with a wild-fire arrow, whereof he died presently. The place where they fought was of great advantage to the Savages, by means of the thick trees; behind which the Savages through their nimbleness defended themselves, and so offended our men with their arrows, that our men, being some of them hurt, retired fighting to the water side, where their boat lay, with which they fled towards Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they espied their four fellows coming from a creek thereby, where they had been to fetch Oysters: these four they received into their boat, leaving Roanoak, and landed on a little Island on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatorask, where they remained awhile, but afterward departed, whither as yet we know not.

Having now sufficiently dispatched our business at Croatoan, the same day we departed friendly, taking our leave, and came aboard the fleet at Hatorask.

The 13 of August, our Savage Manteo, by the commandment of Sir Walter Raleigh, was christened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof, and of Dasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithful service.

By this time our ships had unladen the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood and fresh water, and to new caulk and trim them for England; the planters also prepared their letters and tokens to send back into England.

The 22 of August, the whole company both of the Assistants and planters came to the Governor, and with one voice requested him to return himself into England, for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other

necessaries for them; but he refused it, and alleged many sufficient causes why he would not.

The Governor, being at the last through their extreme intreating constrained to return into England, having then but half a day's respite to prepare himself for the same, departed from Roanoak the seven and twentieth of August in the morning; and the same day about midnight, came aboard the Flyboat, who already had weighed anchor, and rode without the bar; the Admiral riding by them, who but the same morning was newly come thither again. The same day both the ships weighed anchor, and set sail for England.

FATE OF THE SECOND COLONY

John White reached England in November 1587, intending to return with supplies for his colonists; but the war with Spain was at its crisis (the Armada sailed in 1588), and every English ship was needed for the fight. It was nearly three years before White was able to join an expedition for Virginia. He sailed with three ships in 1590; but he was not in command, and seems to have had little control over the voyage—"the Governors, Masters, and Sailors, regarding very smally the good of their countrymen in Virginia," preferred to spend their time in plundering Spanish vessels. They reached the coast at last, and White tells the story of what they found there.


THE 15 of August towards Evening we came to an anchor at Hatorask, in five fathom water, three leagues from the shore. At our first coming to anchor on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the Isle Roanoak, near the place where I left our Colony in the year 1587, which smoke

put us in good hope that some of the Colony were there expecting my return out of England.

The 16 and next morning our 2 boats went ashore, and Captain Cooke, and Cap. Spicer, and their company with me, with intent to pass to the place at Roanoak where our countrymen were left. At our putting from the ship we commanded our Master gunner to make ready 2 Minions and a Falkon well loaden, and to shoot them off with reasonable space between every shot, to the end that their reports might be heard to the place where we hoped to find some of our people. This was accordingly performed, and our two boats put off unto the shore. In the Admiral's boat we sounded all the way and found from our ship until we came within a mile of the shore nine, eight, and seven fathom; but before we were half-way between our ships and the shore we saw another great smoke to the South-west of Kindriker's mounts. We therefore thought good to go to that second smoke first; but it was much farther from the harbour where we landed than we supposed it to be, so that we were very sore tired before we came to the smoke. But that which grieved us more was that when we came to the smoke, we found no man nor sign that any had been there lately, nor yet any fresh water in all this way to drink. Being thus wearied with this journey, we returned to the harbour where we left our boats, who in our absence had brought their cask ashore for fresh water; so we deferred our going to Roanoak until the next morning, and caused some of those sailors to dig in those sandy hills for fresh water, whereof we found very sufficient. That night we returned aboard with our boats and our whole company in safety.

The next morning being the 17 of August, our boats and company were prepared again to go up to Roanoak; but Captain Spicer had then sent his boat ashore for fresh water, by means whereof it was ten of the clock aforenoon before we put from our ships, which were then come to an anchor within two miles of the shore. The Admiral's boat was half-way toward the shore when Captain Spicer put off from his ship. The Admiral's boat first passed the breach, but not without some danger of sinking, for we had a sea broke into our boat, which filled us half full of water; but by the will of God and careful steerage of Captain Cooke we came safe ashore, saving only that our furniture, victuals, match and powder were much wet and spoiled. For at this time the wind blew at North-east and direct into the harbour so great a gale, that the Sea broke extremely on the bar, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance. By that time our Admiral's boat was hauled ashore, and most of our things taken out to dry, Captain Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his mast standing up, and was half passed over, but by the rash and indiscreet steerage of Ralph Skinner his Master's mate, a very dangerous Sea broke into their boat and overset them quite. The men kept the boat, some in it, and some hanging on it, but the next sea set the boat on ground, where it beat so, that some of them were forced to let go their hold, hoping to wade ashore; but the Sea still beat them down, so that they could neither stand nor swim, and the boat twice or thrice was turned the keel upward, whereon Captain Spicer and Skinner hung until they sunk, and were seen no more. But four that could swim a little kept themselves in deeper water and were saved by Captain Cooke's means, who so soon as he saw

their oversetting, stripped himself, and four others that could swim very well, and with all haste possible rowed unto them, and saved four. This mischance did so much discomfort the sailors, that they were all of one mind not to go any farther to seek the planters. But in the end by the commandment and persuasion of me and Captain Cooke, they prepared the boats: and seeing the Captain and me so resolute, they seemed much more willing. Our boats and all things fitted again, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 persons in both boats; but before we could get to the place where our planters were left, it was so exceeding dark, that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile. There we espied towards the North end of the Island the light of a great fire through the woods, to the which we presently rowed. When we came right over against it, we let fall our Grapnel near the shore, and sounded with a trumpet a call, and afterwards many familiar English tunes of songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answer. We therefore landed at daybreak, and coming to the fire, we found the grass and sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went through the woods to that part of the Island directly over against Dasamonguepeuk, and from thence we returned by the water side, round about the North point of the Island, until we came to the place where I left our Colony in the year 1586. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the Savages' feet of 2 or 3 sorts, trodden the night; and as we entered up the sandy bank, upon a tree, in the very brow thereof, were curiously carved these fair Roman letters C R O: which letters presently we knew to signify the place where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token

agreed upon between them and me at my last departure from them; which was, that in any ways they should not fail to write or carve on the trees or posts of the doors the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my coming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoak 50 miles into the main. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name a Cross  in this form, but we found no such sign of distress. And having well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses; but we found the houses taken down, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisade of great trees, with curtains and flankers very Fort-like; and one of the chief trees or posts at the right side of the entrance had the bark taken off, and 5 foot from the ground in fair Capital letters was graven CROATOAN without any cross or sign of distress. This done, we entered into the palisade, where we found many bars of Iron, two pigs of Lead, four iron fowlers, iron saker-shot, and such-like heavy things, thrown here and there, almost overgrown with grass and weeds. From thence we went along by the water side, towards the point of the Creek, to see if we could find any of their boats or Pinnace; but we could perceive no sign of them, nor any of the last Falkons and small Ordnance which were left with them at my departure from them. At our return from the Creek, some of our Sailors, meeting us, told us that they had found where divers chests had been hidden, and long since digged up again and broken up, and much of the goods in them spoiled and scattered about; but nothing left of

such things as the Savages knew any use of, undefaced. Presently Captain Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the end of an old trench, made two years past by Captain Amadas: where we found five Chests, that had been carefully hidden of the Planters; and of the same chests three were my own, and about the place many of my things spoiled and broken, and my books torn from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and Maps rotten and spoiled with rain, and my armour almost eaten through with rust. This could be no other but the deed of the Savages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and as soon as they were departed, digged up every place where they suspected anything to be buried; but although it much grieved me to see such spoil of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certain token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the Savages of the Island our friends.

When we had seen in this place so much as we could, we returned to our Boats, and departed from the shore towards our Ships, with as much speed as we could. For the weather began to overcast, and very likely that a foul and stormy night would ensue. Therefore the same Evening, with much danger and labour, we got ourselves aboard, by which time the wind and seas were so greatly risen that we doubted our Cables and Anchors would scarcely hold until Morning: wherefore the Captain caused the Boat to be manned with five lusty men, who could swim all well, and sent them to the little Island on the right hand of the Harbour, to bring aboard six of our men, who had filled our cask with fresh water.

The Boat the same night returned aboard with our men, but all our Cask ready filled they left behind, impossible to be had aboard without danger of casting away both men and Boats: for this night proved very stormy and foul.

The next Morning it was agreed by the Captain and myself, with the Master and others, to weigh anchor, and go for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were: for that then the wind was good for that place, and also to leave that Cask with fresh water on shore in the Island until our return. So then they brought the cable to the Capstan, but when the anchor was almost apeak, the Cable broke, by means whereof we lost another Anchor, wherewith we drove so fast into the shore that we were forced to let fall a third Anchor; which came so fast home that the Ship was almost aground by Kenrick's mounts, so that we were forced to let slip the Cable end for end.¹ And if it had not chanced that we had fallen into a channel of deeper water, closer by the shore than we accounted of, we could never have gone clear of the point that lieth to the Southwards of Kenrick's mounts. Being thus clear of some dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without some loss (for we had but one Cable and Anchor left us of four, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler, our victuals scarce, and our cask and fresh water lost), it was therefore determined that we should go for Saint John or some other Island to the Southward for fresh water. And it was further purposed, that if we could any ways supply

¹ The ship was hauled in till she was almost over the anchor ("apeak"). The third anchor dragged through the ground ("came home"), and they had to let the whole length of cable ("end for end") run out into the sea in order to get clear.

our wants of victuals and other necessities, either at Hispaniola, Saint John, or Trinidad, that then we should continue in the Indies all the Winter following, with hope to make 2 rich voyages of one, and at our return to visit our countrymen at Virginia.

Storms drove them back to England and they were forced to give up further search for their "countrymen at Virginia." Other attempts were made to rescue the unfortunate colonists, but without success. "When Virginia was at last planted, nearly twenty years later, seven English were found alive": the rest had been massacred by the famous Indian chief, "King Powhattan."

THE DISCOVERY OF GUIANA

The colonization of Virginia had failed for the time being; but the next attempt to found an Empire for England beyond the seas—and the last recorded in Hakluyt's "Voyages"—was also made by Sir Walter Raleigh. He went himself, in command of five ships, to seek the "El Dorado" or "Golden Land" of Guiana, by way of the river Orinoco. He sailed in 1595, and crossing the Atlantic, attacked the Spanish settlement in Trinidad, where he captured the Governor, Don Antonio de Berreo. The story, written by Raleigh himself, begins when Berreo, who was planning to found a Spanish colony in Guiana, tries to persuade Raleigh to abandon his project.

AFTER I had thus learned of his proceedings past and purposed, I told him that I had resolved to see Guiana, and that it was the end of my journey, and the cause of my coming to Trinidad, as it was indeed. Berreo was stricken into a great melancholy and sadness, and used all the arguments he could to dissuade me, and also assured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labour

none of them should trade with any Christians for gold, because the same would be their own overthrow, and that for the love of gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossess them of all together. Many and the most of these I found to be true; but yet I, resolving to make trial of all whatsoever happened, directed John Dowglas the master, to discover; who found some nine foot water or better upon the flood, and five at low water.

John Dowglas searched those rivers, and found four goodly entrances, whereof the least was as big as the Thames at Woolwich; but in the bay thitherward it was shoaled, and but six foot water: so-as we were now without hope of any ship or barque to pass over, and therefore resolved to go on with the boats, and the bottom of the Galego,¹ in which we thrust 60 men. In the Lion's Whelp's boat and wherry we carried 20.² Captain Calfield in his wherry carried ten more, and in my barge other ten, which made up a hundred: we had no other means but to carry victual for a month in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boil and dress our meat.

We had as much sea to cross over in our wherries as between Dover and Calais, and in a great billow, the wind and current being both very strong; so-as we were driven to go in those small boats directly before the wind into the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, and from thence to enter the mouth of some one of those rivers which John Dowglas had last discovered; and had with us for pilot an Indian of Barema (a river to the South of Orenoque,

¹ An old galley or ship's boat which had been cut down so that it would draw less water.

² The "Lion's Whelp" was one of the ships which had been left at Curiapan in Trinidad, as they were too big to go up the river.

between that and Amazon), whose canoes we had formerly taken as he was going from the said Barema, laden with Cassavi-bread, to sell at Margarita. This Arwacan¹ promised to bring me into the great river of Orenoque, but indeed of that which he entered he was utterly ignorant, for he had not seen it in twelve years before; at which time he was very young, and of no judgment. And if God had not sent us another help, we might have wandered a whole year in that labyrinth of rivers, ere we had found any way, either out or in, especially after we were past ebbing and flowing, which was in four days; for I know all the earth doth not yield the like confluence of streams and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and all so fair and large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take. And if we went by the Sun or Compass, hoping thereby to go directly one way or other, yet that way we were also carried in a circle amongst multitudes of Islands, and every Island so bordered with high trees as no man could see any farther than the breadth of the river or length of the breach. But this it chanced, that entering into a river, (which because it had no name, we called the river of the Red cross, ourselves being the first Christians that ever came therein,) the two and twentieth of May, as we were rowing up the same, we espied a small canoe with three Indians, which (by the swiftness of my barge, rowing with eight oars) I overtook ere they could cross the river. The rest of the people on the banks, shadowed under the thick wood, gazed on with a doubtful conceit what might befall those three which we had taken. But when they

¹ Member of the Indian tribe of Arwakas.

perceived that we offered them no violence, neither entered their canoe with any of ours, nor took out of the canoe any of theirs, they then began to show themselves on the bank's side, and offered to traffic with us for such things as they had. And as we drew near, they all stayed, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creek which came from their town into the great river.

As we abode there a while, our Indian pilot, called Ferdinando, would needs go ashore to their village to fetch some fruits, and to drink of their artificial wines, and also to see the place, and know the lord of it against another time, and took with him a brother of his, which he had with him in the journey. When they came to the village of these people, the lord of the Island offered to lay hands on them, purposing to have slain them both; yielding for reason that this Indian of ours had brought a strange nation into their territory, to spoil and destroy them. But the pilot being quick, and of a disposed body, slipped their fingers, and ran into the woods; and his brother, being the better footman of the two, recovered the creek's mouth, where we stayed in our barge, crying out that his brother was slain. With that we set hands on one of them that was next us, a very old man, and brought him into the barge, assuring him that if we had not our pilot again, we would presently cut off his head. This old man being resolved that he should pay the loss of the other, cried out to those in the woods to save Ferdinando our pilot; but they followed him notwithstanding, and hunted after him upon the foot with the Deer-dogs, and with so main a cry, that all the woods echoed with the shout they made; but at the last this poor

chased Indian recovered the river side, and got upon a tree, and as we were coasting, leaped down and swam to the barge half dead with fear. But our good hap was, that we kept the other old Indian, which we handfasted to redeem our pilot withal; for being natural of those rivers, we assured ourselves he knew the way better than any stranger could. And, indeed, but for this chance, I think we had never found the way either to Guiana, or back to our ships; for Ferdinando after a few days knew nothing at all, nor which way to turn; yea and many times the old man himself was in great doubt which river to take. Those people which dwell in these broken islands and drowned lands, are generally called Tivitivas; there are of them two sorts, the one called Ciawani, and the other Waraweete.

These Tivitivas are a very goodly people and very valiant, and have the most manly speech and most deliberate that ever I heard, of what nation soever. In the Summer they have houses on the ground, as in other places; in the Winter they dwell upon the trees, where they build very artificial towns and villages; for between May and September the river of Orenoque riseth thirty foot upright, and then are those islands overflown twenty foot high above the level of the ground, saving some few raised grounds in the middle of them; and for this cause they are enforced to live in this manner. They never eat of anything that is set or sown; and as at home they use neither planting nor other manurance, so when they come abroad they refuse to feed of ought, but of that which nature without labour bringeth forth. They use the tops of Palmitos for bread, and kill deer, fish, and porks, for the rest of their sustenance. They have also

many sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowl.

After we departed from the port of these Ciawani, we passed up the river with the flood, and anchored the ebb, and in this sort we went onward. The third day that we entered the river, our galley came on ground, and stuck so fast, as we thought that even there our discovery had ended, and that we must have left fourscore and ten of our men to have inhabited like rooks upon trees with those nations; but the next morning, after we had cast out all her ballast, with tugging and hauling to and fro, we got her afloat, and went on. At four days' end we fell into as goodly a river as ever I beheld, which was called the great Amana, which ran more directly without windings and turnings than the other; but soon after, the flood of the sea left us, and being enforced either by main strength to row against a violent current, or to return as wise as we went out, we had then no shift but to persuade the companies that it was but two or three days' work, and therefore desired them to take pains, every gentleman and others taking their turns to row, and to spell one the other at the hour's end.

When three days more were overgone, our companies began to despair, the weather being extreme hot, the river bordered with very high trees, that kept away the air, and the current against us every day stronger than other. But we evermore commanded our pilots to promise an end the next day, and used it so long, as we were driven to assure them from four reaches of the river to three, and so to two, and so to the next reach; but so long we laboured, that many days were spent, and we driven to draw ourselves to harder allowance, our bread

even at the last, and no drink at all; and our men and ourselves so wearied and scorched, and doubtful withal, whether we should ever perform it or no, the heat increasing as we drew towards the line; for we were now in five degrees.

The farther we went on (our victual decreasing and the air breeding great faintness) we grew weaker and weaker, when we had most need of strength and ability; for hourly the river ran more violently than other against us, and the barge, wherries, and ships' boat of captain Gifford and captain Calfield, had spent all their provisions; so-as we were brought into despair and discomfort, had we not persuaded all the company that it was but only one day's work more to attain the land where we should be relieved of all we wanted, and if we returned, that we were sure to starve by the way, and that the world would also laugh us to scorn. On the banks of these rivers were divers sorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of such variety as were sufficient to make ten volumes of herbals: we relieved ourselves many times with the fruits of the country, and sometimes with fowl and fish. We saw birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orange-tawny, purple, watchet, and of all other sorts both simple and mixed, and it was unto us a great good passing of the time to behold them, besides the relief we found by killing some store of them with our fowling pieces; without which, having little or no bread, and less drink, but only the thick and troubled water of the river, we had been in a very hard case.

Our old pilot of the Ciawani (whom, as I said before, we took to redeem Ferdinando) told us, that if we would enter a branch of a river on the right hand with our barge

and wherries, and leave the galley at anchor the while in the great river, he would bring us to a town of the Arwacas, where we should find store of bread, hens, fish, and of the country wine; and persuaded us that, departing from the galley at noon, we might return ere night. I was very glad to hear this speech, and presently took my barque, with eight musketeers, captain Gifford's wherry, with himself and four musketeers, and Captain Calfield with his wherry, and as many; and so we entered the mouth of this river; and because we were persuaded that it was so near, we took no victual with us at all. When we had rowed three hours, we marvelled we saw no sign of any dwelling, and asked the pilot where the town was: he told us a little farther. After three hours more, the Sun being almost set, we began to suspect that he led us that way to betray us. But when it grew towards night, and we demanded where the place was, he told us but four reaches more. When we had rowed four and four, we saw no sign; and our poor watermen, even heart-broken and tired, were ready to give up the ghost: for we had now come from the galley near forty miles.

At the last we determined to hang the pilot; and if we had well known the way back again by night, he had surely gone; but our own necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safety: for it was as dark as pitch, and the river began so to narrow itself, and the trees to hang over from side to side, as we were driven with arming swords to cut a passage through those branches that covered the water. We were very desirous to find this town, hoping of a feast, because we made but a short breakfast aboard the galley in the morning and it was now eight o'clock at night, and our stomachs began to gnaw apace; but whether

it was best to return or go on, we began to doubt, suspecting treason in the pilot more and more; but the poor old Indian ever assured us that it was but a little farther, but this one turning and that turning: and at the last, about one o'clock after midnight, we saw a light; and rowing towards it, we heard the dogs of the village. When we landed we found few people; for the lord of that place was gone with divers canoes above four hundred miles off, upon a journey towards the head of Orenoque to trade for gold: he left one of his company at the port of Morequito,¹ by whom we understood that he had brought thirty young women, divers plates of gold, and had great store of fine pieces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his house we had good store of bread, fish, hens, and Indian drink, and so rested that night; and in the morning, after we had traded with such of his people as came down, we returned towards our galley, and brought with us some quantity of bread, fish, and hens.

On both sides of this river, we passed the most beautiful country that ever mine eyes beheld; and whereas all that we had seen before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thorns, here we beheld plains of twenty miles in length, the grass short and green, and in divers parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose: and still as we rowed, the deer came down feeding by the water's side, as if they had been used to a keeper's call. Upon this river there were great store of fowl, and of many sorts: we saw in it divers sorts of strange fishes, and of marvellous bigness; but for legartos it exceeded, for there were thousands of those ugly serpents; and the

¹ An Indian chief who had been killed by the Spaniards.

people call it for the abundance of them, The River of Legartos, in their language. I had a Negro, a very proper young fellow, who leaping out of the galley to swim in the mouth of this river, was in all our sights taken and devoured with one of those legartos. In the meanwhile our companies in the galley thought we had been all lost, (for we promised to return before night,) and sent the Lion's Whelp's ship's boat with captain Whiddon, to follow us up the river; but the next day, after we had rowed up and down some fourscore miles, we returned, and went on our way, up the great river; and when we were even at the last cast for want of victuals, captain Gifford, being before the galley and the rest of the boats, seeking out some place to land upon the banks to make fire, espied four canoes coming down the river; and with no small joy caused his men to try the uttermost of their strengths, and after a while two of the four gave over, and ran themselves ashore, every man betaking himself to the fastness of the woods; the two other lesser got away, while he landed to lay hold on these, and so turned into some by-creek, we knew not whither. Those canoes that were taken were loaden with bread, and were bound for Margarita in the West Indies, which those Indians (called Arwacas) purposed to carry thither for exchange: but in the lesser there were three Spaniards, who having heard of the defeat of their governor in Trinidad, and that we purposed to enter Guiana, came away in those canoes: one of them was a cavallero, as the captain of the Arwacas after told us, another a soldier, and the third a refiner.

In the meantime, nothing on the earth could have been more welcome to us, next unto gold, than the great

store of very excellent bread which we found in these canoes; for now our men cried, "Let us go on, we care not how far."

After we had taken in this supply of bread, with divers baskets of roots which were excellent meat, I gave one of the Canoes to the Arwacas, which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped; and when I had dismissed all but the Captain (who by the Spaniards was christened Martin) I sent back in the same Canoe the old Ciawan, and Ferdinando my first Pilot, and gave them both such things as they desired, with sufficient victual to carry them back, and by them wrote a letter to the ships, which they promised to deliver, and performed it; and then I went on, with my new hired Pilot Martin the Arwacan. But the next or second day after, we came aground again with our Galley, and were like to cast her away, with all our victual and provision; and so lay on the sand one whole night and were far more in despair at this time to free her than before, because we had no tide of flood to help us, and therefore feared that all our hopes would have ended in mishaps; but we fastened an anchor upon the land, and with main strength drew her off. And so the fifteenth day we discovered afar off the mountains of Guiana to our great joy, and towards the evening had a slent of a Northerly wind that blew very strong, which brought us in sight of the great river Orenoque, out of which this River descended wherein we were.

That night we came to an anchor at the parting of the three goodly Rivers (the one was the River of Amana by which we came from the North, and ran athwart towards the South, the other two were of Orenoque, which crossed from the West and ran to the Sea towards

the East) and landed upon a fair sand, where we found thousands of Tortugas' ¹ eggs, which are very wholesome meat, and greatly restoring; so-as our men were now well filled and highly contented, both with the fare and nearness of the land of Guiana which appeared in sight.

In the morning there came down according to promise, the Lord of that border called Toparimaca, with some thirty or forty followers, and brought us divers sorts of fruits, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh; whom we also feasted as we could, at least we drank good Spanish wine (whereof we had a small quantity in bottles) which above all things they love. I conferred with this Toparimaca of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley and boats to his own port, and carried us from thence some mile and a half to his Town.

The seat of this Town of Toparimaca was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens a mile compass round about it, and two very fair and large ponds of excellent fish adjoining. This town is called Arowcai: the people are of the nation called Nepoios, and are followers of Carapana. In that place I saw very aged people, that we might perceive all their sinews and veins without any flesh, and but even as a case covered only with skin. The Lord of this place gave me an old man for Pilot, who was of great experience and travel, and knew the River most perfectly both by day and night; and it shall be requisite for any man that passeth it to have such a Pilot, for it is four, five, and six miles over in many places, and twenty miles in other places, with wonderful eddies, and strong currents, many great islands, and divers shoals, and many dan-

¹ Fresh-water turtles.

gerous rocks, and besides upon any increase of wind so great a billow, as we were sometimes in great peril of drowning in the galley, for the small boats durst not come from the shore, but when it was very fair.

The next day we hasted thence, and having an Easterly wind to help us, we spared our arms from rowing; for after we entered Orenoque, the River lieth for the most part East and West, even from the Sea unto Quito in Peru.

They continue to sail up the river for five days.

The next day we arrived at the port of Morequito, and anchored there, sending away one of our Pilots to seek the king of Aromaia, uncle to Morequito. The next day following before noon he came to us on foot from his house, which was fourteen English miles (himself being a hundred and ten years old), and returned on foot the same day, and with him many of the borderers, with many women and children, that came to wonder at our nation, and to bring us down victual, which they did in great plenty, as venison, pork, hens, chickens, fowl, fish, with divers sorts of excellent fruits and roots, and great abundance of Pines, the princes of fruits, that grow under the Sun, especially those of Guiana. They brought us also store of bread, and of their wine, and a sort of Paraquitos, no bigger than wrens, and of all other sorts both small and great; one of them gave me a beast called by the Spaniards Armadilla, which they call Cassacam, which seemeth to be all barred over with small plates somewhat like to a Rhinoceros, with a white horn growing in his hinder parts, as big as a great hunting horn, which they used to wind instead of a trumpet.

The next morning we left the port, and sailed West-

ward up the River, to view the famous River called Caroli, and the next day arrived at the mouth of Caroli. When we were short of it as low or farther down as the port of Morequito we heard the great roar and fall of the River, but when we came to enter with our barge and wherries, thinking to have gone up some forty miles, we were not able with a barge of eight oars to row one stone's cast in an hour, and yet the River is as broad as the Thames at Woolwich, and we tried both sides, and the middle, and every part of the River; so-as we encamped upon the banks adjoining.

Myself with Captain Gifford, Captain Calfield, Edward Hancocke, and some half a dozen shot marched over land to view the strange overfalls of the river of Caroli which roared so far off, and also to see the plains adjoining, and the rest of the province of Canuri: I sent also Captain Whiddon, William Connocke, and some eight shot with them, to see if they could find any Mineral stone along the river side. When we were come to the tops of the first hills of the plains adjoining to the river, we beheld that wonderful breach of waters, which ran down Caroli, and might from that mountain see the river how it ran in three parts, above twenty miles off, and there appeared some ten or twelve overfalls in sight, every one as high over the other as a Church-tower, which fell with that fury, that the rebound of water made it seem as if it had been all covered over with a great shower of rain: and in some places we took it at the first for a smoke that had risen over some great town. For mine own part I was well persuaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill footman, but the rest were all so desirous to go near the said strange thunder of waters,

as they drew me on by little and little, till we came into the next valley where we might better discern the same. I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects, hills so raised here and there over the valleys, the river winding into divers branches, the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass, the ground of hard sand easy to march on, either for horse or foot, the deer crossing in every path, the birds towards the evening singing on every tree with a thousand several tunes, cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation perching in the river's side, the air fresh with a gentle Easterly wind, and every stone that we stooped to take up, promised either gold or silver by his complexion.

Raleigh then describes other rivers which run into the Orinoco.

But we had no time, means, nor season of the year, to search those rivers, for the Winter being come upon us, although the Winter and Summer as touching cold and heat differ not, neither do the trees ever sensibly lose their leaves, but have always fruit either ripe or green, and most of them both blossom, leaves, ripe fruit, and green at one time; but their Winter only consisteth of terrible rains, and overflowing of the rivers, with many great storms and gusts, thunder and lightnings, of which we had our fill, ere we returned.

I thought it time lost to linger any longer in that place, especially for that the fury of Orenoque began daily to threaten us with dangers in our return, for no half day passed but the river began to rage and overflow very fearfully, and the rains came down in terrible showers, and gusts in great abundance; and withal, our men began to cry out for want of shift, for no man had place to

bestow any other apparel than that which he wore on his back, and that was thoroughly washed on his body for the most part ten times in one day; and we had now been well near a month, every day passing to the Westward farther and farther from our ships. We therefore turned towards the East, and spent the rest of the time in discovering the river towards the sea, which we had not viewed, and which was most material.

The next day following we left the mouth of Caroli, and arrived again at the port of Morequito where we were before: for passing down the stream we went without labour, and against the wind, little less than a hundred miles a day.

To speak of what passed homeward were tedious, either to describe or name any of the rivers, Islands, or villages of the Tivitivas which dwell on trees: and to be short, when we were arrived at the sea side, then grew our greatest doubt, and the bitterest of all our journey forepassed, for I protest before God that we were in a most desperate estate; for the same night which we anchored in the mouth of the river, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mighty storm, and the river's mouth was at least a league broad, so-as we ran before night close under the land with our small boats, and brought the Galley as near as we could, but she had as much ado to live as could be, and there wanted little of her sinking, and all those in her. For mine own part I confess, I was very doubtful which way to take, either to go over in the pestered Galley, there being but six foot water over the sands, for two leagues together, and that also in the channel, and she drew five; or to adventure in so great a billow, and in so doubtful weather, to cross the seas in my

barge. The longer we tarried the worse it was, and therefore I took Captain Gifford, Captain Calfield, and my cousin Grenville into my barge; and after it cleared up, about midnight we put ourselves to God's keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leaving the Galley at anchor, who durst not adventure but by daylight. And so being all very sober, and melancholy, one faintly cheering another to show courage, it pleased God that the next day, about nine of the clock, we descried the Island of Trinidad, and steering for the nearest part of it, we kept the shore till we came to Curiapan, where we found our ships at anchor, than which there was never to us a more joyful sight.

GLOSSARY

Many of the following words are included because they appear in the text in an unusual or obsolete sense; but in other passages they may bear their ordinary meaning. The distinction is usually clear from the context.

- A-BRABLING:** Foolishly quarrelling.
- ADMIRAL:** Frequently used of the principal vessel of a fleet; also the commanding officer.
- ADVERTISE:** Inform, warn.
- ADVERTISEMENT:** Information, warning.
- ALBEIT:** Although.
- AMAIN, TO WAVE:** A signal demanding a salute, or surrender.
- APEAK:** When a ship has been hauled immediately over the anchor, both ship and anchor are said to be apeak.
- ARMADA, ARMADO:** Usually an armed fleet, but sometimes a single large war-vessel.
- ARQUEBUS:** A portable gun supported on a forked rest.
- ARTIFICIAL:** Skilfully made.
- ASTONISHMENT:** Dismay.
- ATTEND:** Wait for.
- AVOID:** To empty, to leave empty, go away.
- BACCALAOS:** Cod-fish.
- BARGE:** A ship's rowing boat for the use of officers.
- BARK or BARQUE:** A general name for a small ship.
- BASE:** A small quick-firing, breech-loading gun.
- BEAR:** To sail in a certain direction; bear in, bear with—sail towards.
- BEAT:** Make way against the wind; tack.
- BEND:** Direct a course; or direct guns, forces, etc.; against.
- BERTH:** Sufficient space for a ship to turn, or anchor in.
- BILGE WATER:** Water collected at the bottom of a ship.
- BILL:** A long-handled weapon with a blade like a bill-hook, bearing additional spikes.
- BILL OF LADING:** A ship-master's receipt for goods carried by him.
- BISCAINES:** Ships from the province of Biscay.
- BOARD:** The side of a ship: to lay a-board or to board is to bring two ships side by side.
- BOATSWAIN:** One of the chief officers of a ship of the period.
- BONNET:** A strip of canvas laced to the foot of a sail to gather more wind.
- BOOT:** To be of use.

- BRAVERY, A:** An act of bravado, something done as a brag.
- BREACH:** A place where waves break; a bar.
- BRIGANDINE or BRIGANTINE:** A small war vessel equipped with sails and oars.
- BRUIT:** Rumour.
- BOFF:** Buffalo.
- BUG:** Bugbear.
- BUT:** Except; before.
- BY AND BY:** Immediately.
- CABLE, TO SLIP:** To let go the cable instead of weighing the anchor.
- CALIVER:** A light musket, or hand-gun.
- CANNON:** A heavy muzzle-loading gun firing a shot of about 60 lbs.
- CANTER:** A Spanish fishing boat.
- CARAVEL:** A small fast sailing vessel, usually with four masts.
- CARD:** Map, chart.
- CARRACK:** A very large merchant ship, generally carrying a rich cargo and frequently armed for war purposes.
- CASSADA, CASSAVA, CASSAVI:** A plant (Mandioc) growing in the West Indies and S. America, from the roots of which the natives make a kind of bread.
- CAST:** To cast about; to change course.
- AT THE LAST CAST:** At the last gasp, like a dice-player who stakes everything on the last throw, or cast.
- CATCHPOLE:** Officer of justice whose function is to make arrests.
- CAULK:** To stop up the seams of a ship.
- CHAIN-SHOT:** Two shot joined by a chain: used for cutting enemy's spars and rigging.
- CHAMPION:** Plain open country.
- CHASE:** That part of the ship forward or astern where the "chase" guns are placed which were used in pursuit of or flight from another ship.
- CHINA:** A plant, the roots of which were used medicinally.
- CHIRURGEON:** Surgeon.
- CLIFT:** Piece of wood which has been shaped by splitting or cleaving.
- CLOSE-FIGHTS:** Wooden gratings fitted to ships as a protection against boarders.
- COCK:** A small ship's boat; a dinghy.
- COMMODITY:** Advantage, profit.
- CONCEIT:** Opinion, judgment.
- CONDESCEND:** Agree.
- CONIE:** Rabbit.
- CORDOVAN:** Leather made at Cordova.
- CORROSIVE:** Grief.
- COUNTERVAIL:** To be equal in value.
- COURSE:** The courses were the sails attached to the lower yards

- of a ship. Reefing was not known at this date but in place of it bonnets (see above) were added to the body or "corse" of the lower sails.
- CRAZED:** Damaged.
- CROSS-BAR SHOT:** Round iron shot with projecting bars.
- CROWN FROM A COUNTER:** A real from an imitation coin.
- CULVERIN:** A long-range muzzle-loading gun firing a shot of about 18 lbs.
- CURRIER:** A musket with a swivel mounting.
- CURTAIN:** The wall of a fort between the projecting "flankers."
- CUT A SAIL:** To unfurl it quickly.
- DAW:** Revive, "bring to."
- DELIBERATE:** Determine.
- DELIVER:** Declare.
- DEMI-CULVERIN:** A long-range muzzle-loading gun firing a shot of about 9 lbs.
- DIGEST:** Arrange in order; distribute (troops).
- DISBOGGING:** See *Disembogue*.
- DISCHARGE:** Unload; also to fire (a gun, etc.).
- DISEMBOGUE:** Pour forth, flow out.
- DISPOSED:** Not indisposed, in good health.
- DIURNAL:** Daily record.
- DOUBLE CANNON:** A heavy muzzle-loading gun firing a shot of about 65 lbs.
- DOUBT:** Suspect.
- DRESS:** Make ready.
- DRUMBLER:** A small fast vessel used for war and transport.
- EASTERLING:** A ship of Germany or the Baltic.
- EMBRACE:** Undertake.
- ENGINE:** Heavy ordnance.
- ENTERTAIN:** Engage (an enemy's forces).
- ENTREAT:** Treat.
- ESPIAL:** Spy, scout.
- ESTATE:** Rank.
- EXPECT:** Wait for.
- FALCON:** A light muzzle-loading gun firing a shot of about 3 lbs.; a Falconet was about a 1½-pounder.
- FALL WITH:** Make land; meet with.
- FALSE NETTING:** Netting spread to prevent enemy boarders from entering a ship.
- FENCE:** To equip for defence.
- FENSIBLE:** Well fortified.
- FETCH:** To reach.
- FIRKIN:** A small cask.
- FIRM:** Mainland.
- FLANKER:** Projecting fortification to command enemy's flank.
- FLAW:** Sudden gust of wind.
- FLY-BOAT:** A small sailing vessel; also, a ship's boat.

- FLIGHT-SHOOT:** The distance to which an arrow can be shot.
- FOIL:** Defeat.
- FOWLER:** A short breech-loading gun.
- FRANKLY:** Freely.
- FRAUGHT:** Laden.
- FREAT:** Strait.
- FRIGATE:** Originally a small galley; later a sailing vessel.
- FURMENTY:** "Frumenty," a kind of wheat, whereof is made a kind of meal resembling oat-meal.
- FURNITURE:** Equipment.
- GAGE:** Pledge, hostage.
- GALLANT:** Fine, grand.
- GALLEON:** An important type of war-vessel used by the Spaniards and the English. The keel was longer in proportion to the beam than was the case in most other sailing ships, thus giving it greater sea-worthiness and speed. The term was also applied to the Spanish treasure ships.
- GALLEY:** A long, narrow vessel used chiefly in the Mediterranean; it had sails but was chiefly driven by a large number of slave-manned oars. It could be manœuvred very swiftly, and had a formidable beak or ram, but its heavy guns could only be fired straight forward.
- GALLIAS:** There is some uncertainty about this type of ship. Those used in the Armada seem to have had both sails and oars. They were probably something between the Galleon and the Galley.
- GARBOIL:** A brawl, tumult.
- GARNITURE:** Furniture, ornament.
- GENERAL:** Admiral, in both senses; see above.
- GLAIVE:** A long handle with a blade on the end.
- GOWER:** Giaour, a term of reproach applied to all who do not believe in the Moslem religion, especially to Christians.
- GRAVE:** To clear the bottom of a ship.
- GROAT:** An English coin worth about fourpence.
- GULOINE:** Probably Gulon, the Glutton or Wolverine.
- HAIL SHOT:** Small shot which scatters.
- HALBARD, HALBERT:** A long-handled weapon which was a combination of spear and battle-axe.
- HANDFAST:** To seize with the hand, to handcuff.
- HANDFUL:** A length of four inches.
- HANDLOCK:** A handcuff.
- HARD AT HAND:** Near.
- HARDLY:** With difficulty.

HARPING IRON: Harpoon.

HAUTBOY: A wind instrument; oboe.

HAWSE: That part of a vessel's bow where holes are cut for her cables to pass through.

HEADFAST: Rope which fastens the head, or bow, of a ship to any point.

HEIGHT: Latitude.

HERBAL: A book about herbs or plants.

HIGH CARGED: The exact meaning of this is not known; it may mean high-carved, almost certainly it refers to height of the upper works of the ship above the water.

HOBBY: A small falcon used for hunting other birds, especially larks.

HOLD: A fort or stronghold; also that part of a ship where the cargo is stowed.

HORSEFEETING: Tracks made by horses.

HOSPITAL: A house for the reception of travellers, a hostel.

HOY: The ancestor of the Thames barge; it was a flat-bottomed vessel, often of considerable size, which could be armed with guns.

HULK: A large cargo vessel.

HULLOCK: A small part of a sail lowered in a gale to keep the ship's head to the sea.

IN HAND: Occupied in doing something; stand in hand, to be the duty or business of.

INTEND: Direct one's course, set out.

JEALOUSY: Mistrust.

JUNK: A piece of old cable.

JUTT: The shock of colliding with something; used figuratively.

KNEE: Crooked timbers used in the construction of ships.

LEGARTO: Alligator.

LARBOARD: The port side of a vessel.

LEE: The side of a ship that is turned away from the wind; Lee Shore, a shore towards which the wind is blowing.

LENTISK: The Mastic tree.

LET: To hinder, prevent.

LIST: A strip, streak.

LONG BOAT: A large open ship's boat which was too big to be hoisted aboard, but was towed astern.

LUFF or SPRING ONE'S LUFF: To bring a ship's head up more to windward, closer to the wind.

M: Master, a title applied to a person of responsibility.

MAIN: Mainland; also, the open sea. Also in phrases such as "so main a cry," "by main strength," powerful.

- MANTEL:** A movable protection for men approaching an enemy.
- MART:** Market. To make a mart, to make a bargain.
- MARVEL:** See "without."
- MASTER** [*of a ship*]: The officer responsible for navigation.
- MASTIC:** A gum obtained from the Mastic tree.
- MAUGRE:** In spite of.
- MEAN:** Middling.
- MERE:** Sheer, absolute; in phrase "the mere providence of God," pure, unmixed.
- METROPOLITAN:** Bishop, Archbishop.
- MINION:** A light muzzle-loading gun firing a shot of about 4 lbs.
- MOOR:** Arab, often erroneously applied to Negroes; in religion, Mohammedan.
- NAME:** Fame, reputation.
- NATURAL:** Native.
- NEWLAND FISHES:** Newfoundland cod.
- NEXT:** Nearest.
- NOBLE:** An English gold coin worth from 6s. 8d. to 10s.
- NOTHING LESS:** The meaning of this phrase is the exact opposite of the modern use: e.g. "They meant nothing less" is "they did not intend anything of the kind."
- OASE:** Ooze, mud.
- OUT OF HAND:** Immediately.
- OVERFALL:** Waterfall, rapid.
- PARTISAN:** A spear with a broad head.
- PATACHES:** Small, swift Portuguese ships.
- PESO:** A weight of gold or silver; also a Spanish coin.
- PETRONEL:** A large pistol or carbine.
- PIKE:** An infantry weapon having a pointed metal head on a long wooden shaft.
- PINE:** Pineapple.
- PINNACE:** (1) A small, sailing war-vessel. (2) A ship's boat, smaller than the long-boat; it was hoisted aboard.
- PIPE-STAVE:** A pipe is a large cask; stave, one of the pieces of wood of which the pipe is made.
- PLOT:** Map, chart.
- PORTINGALE:** Portuguese.
- POST:** Messenger, courier.
- PREFER:** Bring forward.
- PREMISS:** Matters previously stated.
- PREROGATIVE:** Superiority.
- PRESENT:** Immediate.
- PRESENTLY:** Immediately.
- PRETEND:** Propose, intend.
- PREVENT:** Anticipate.
- PRIVILY:** Secretly.
- PRIVY:** In the secret of.
- PROPER:** Of good character, honest.
- PROVIDE:** Equip.
- PROVISION:** Preparation.
- PUISSANT:** Powerful.

- QUINTAL:** A weight of about 100 lbs.
- RECEIPT:** Size, capacity.
- RECOVER:** Get, obtain; also arrive at, return to; recover the wind, to get to windward.
- RESOLVE:** Convince.
- ROAD:** Roadstead.
- ROYAL:** An English gold coin originally worth 10s. Royal of plate, a Spanish coin worth about 6*d.*
- RUMMAGE:** To disorder; also to arrange cargo in the hold.
- SAKER:** A muzzle-loading gun firing a shot of about 6 lbs.
- SASSAFRAS:** A small North American tree, the bark of which was used as a medicine.
- SCANT:** A term applied to the wind when it draws too much ahead, becomes unfavourable.
- SCIENCE:** A skilled craft.
- SCORE:** When nothing else is mentioned, a distance of twenty paces is understood.
- SEA-BOARD:** On the side of a ship facing the open sea.
- SEA-GATE:** A long, rolling swell.
- SEA-ROOM:** Space at sea for a ship to turn easily.
- SHEAF ARROW:** A war arrow; twenty-four were supplied in a bundle or sheaf.
- SHOAL:** Shallow; to become shallow.
- SHOLCAVE:** Perhaps a corrupted form of the word Jackal.
- SHOT:** Musketeers.
- SLENT:** A spell of wind.
- So-As:** In such a way that.
- SOD:** The past tense of seethe, boil.
- SORT:** A number of, a lot of.
- SOUND:** A bay, inlet; to sound, to find the depth of water by casting the lead.
- SPITTLE HOUSE:** A hospital for poor people.
- SPRING:** When a mast is cracked but not quite broken.
- STAMMEL:** A shade of red; Stammel-cloth, a coarse woollen cloth of this colour.
- STAY:** To stop, halt; also to hinder or prevent someone from going on.
- STEM:** The prow of a vessel; also to make way against (a current, etc.); also to ram.
- STERNFAST:** Rope which fastens the stern of a ship to any point.
- STOCKED:** Perhaps stoaked; when the water in the bottom of a ship cannot get to the pump, or the pump itself is choked and will not draw.
- STOMACH:** Courage.
- STONE:** A gun flint.
- STRAIGHT:** Immediately, straight-way; also narrow, strict.
- STRAIGHTLY:** Narrowly, strictly.
- SUFFICIENT:** Capable.

TABLE: Writing tablet.

TACKLING, STAND TO ONE'S: "To stand to one's guns," hold one's ground.

TARGET: Shield.

TELL: Count.

TILT-BOAT: A large rowing boat having a tilt, or awning.

TOLIPANE: Turban; in this passage the inner cap, or fez, is referred to as distinct from its wrapping.

TRAFFIC: Trade (used as both noun and verb).

TRAIN OIL: Oil obtained from blubber.

TRAVEL: Frequently written for *Travail*; labour, toil.

TRIM: Clean, repair a ship; make a ship ready for sea.

TRUMPET: Trumpeter.

TRUNK: A case to contain wild-fire.

URE: Use.

USE: To be customary, usual; also to frequent (a place).

VAULT: Arched roof.

VICTUALLERS: Ships carrying provisions for a fleet, etc.

WANT: A mole; also lack (used as noun and verb).

WARP: To haul a ship along by means of ropes.

WATCHET: Sky-blue.

WEAR: A trap for fish.

WEATHER: On the side of a ship which is towards the wind; the opposite of Lee.

WEROANCE: An Indian chief.

WEROANZA: Chieftainess (applied to Queen Elizabeth).

WILD-FIRE: A highly inflammable composition, which could not be extinguished by water, used for firing enemy's ships or defences.

WINE-QUART: A standard liquid measure.

WITHOUT: Outside; "without great marvel," the meaning of this curious phrase is uncertain; it may be "without doubt, certainly," or "in an ordinary manner," but possibly "without" is used in the sense of "beyond," meaning "in a very marvellous way."

WOOD: Enraged, furious.

YIELD: Grant.

ZABRA: A small vessel used by the Spanish and Portuguese.





